Montana State Legislature

2021 Session

Additional Documents

May include the following:

- Business Report
- Roll Call -Attendance
- Standing Committee Reports
- Tabled Bills
- Fiscal Reports
- Roll Call Votes
- Informational Item's
- Witness Statements
- Visitor Register
- Any other type of documents such as:

Petitions, Pamphlets, Leaflets, Brochures, Emails, all documents given to Committee Secretary 24 hours after the meeting adjourned.

The original exhibit/items are on file at the Montana Historical Society and may be viewed there.

BUSINESS REPORT

MONTANA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 67th LEGISLATURE - REGULAR SESSION

HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Time: 8:00 AM Date: Tuesday, February 16, 2021 **Room:** 137 Place: Capitol

BILLS and RESOLUTIONS HEARD:

HB 342 - Revise judicial election laws - Rep. Matt Regier (R)

HB 345 - Establish Prescription Drug Pay-for-Delay Transparency Act - Rep. Katie Sullivan (D)

HB 354 - Revise laws regarding driving while intoxicated costs - Rep. Frank Smith (D)

HJ 11 - Resolution designating ANTIFA as domestic terrorism in Montana - Rep. Braxton Mitchell (R)

EXECUTIVE ACTION TAKEN:

None

Comments:

mymm REP. Barry Usher, Chair



The Big Sky Country

MONTANA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ROLL CALL

DATE:2 \	116/21	
----------	--------	--

NAME	PRESENT	ABSENT/EXCUSED
REP. USHER, CHAIR		
REP. AMY REGIER, VICE CHAIR		
REP. KELKER, VICE CHAIR		
REP. BERGLEE		
REP. BISHOP		
REP. CARLSON		
REP. FARRIS-OLSEN	/	
REP. FLEMING		
REP. FRANCE		
REP. GILLETTE		\checkmark
REP. HAWK	\checkmark	
REP. JEDEDIAH HINKLE		
REP. LENZ	/	
REP. LER		✓
REP. PHALEN	/	
REP. SKEES	/	
REP. STAFMAN		
REP. STROMSWOLD	\checkmark	
REP. TENENBAUM	/	

19 MEMBERS

<u>Montana State Legislature</u>

WITNESS STATEMENTS

The following is an assortment of documents that are witness statements.

[A witness statement is a signed document recording the evidence of a witness.

A definition "a written statement signed by a person which contains the evidence which that person would be allowed to give orally".]

WITNESS STATEMENT

Dear Chair Usher and Members of the House Judiciary Committee,

My name is Quinn Leighton. I am writing today as a person who lives with Type 1 Diabetes and also the Montana Chapter Lead of the #insulin4all movement with T1International, a global organization advocating for transparency and lower insulin prices.

Since 1996, the price of analog insulin has increased over 1200%, yet the insulin itself remains unchanged. Most people with diabetes use between 2-4 vials of insulin each month to stay alive. It costs approximately \$3 - \$6 to manufacture one vial of 10 mL of insulin. However, the list price for one vial of most analog insulin or fast-acting insulin is approximately \$300/vial. I use two vials per month. If I didn't have insurance through my employer, I would be paying \$600/month just to stay alive. That doesn't take into consideration putting a roof over my head, food on the table, keeping the lights and heat on during the winter, and so on.

Because of the skyrocketing price of insulin, many people with diabetes have resorted to the very dangerous practice of 'rationing insulin'. Research shows that 25% or 1 in every 4 people with diabetes has rationed their insulin at least once in their life because they couldn't afford their insulin, and they needed to stretch out the small amount they had remaining.

Not only is it ludicrous that people are forced to stretch a life-saving medication out simply due to the outrageous cost, it's also a potentially deadly practice. Many people end up in the emergency room of a hospital for treatment and others end up dying as a result.

People with diabetes have no choice, but to scramble and pay the egregious prices we do. And the pharmaceutical companies know this, and it's why they can get away with continuing to price-gouge people with diabetes - because our lives literally depend on insulin. If we could stay alive any other way, we would not be beholden to these practices. This is all to say, I believe we deserve lower insulin prices, transparency and accountability. HB 345 does this. While there is no immediate drop in the price of insulin, it does send a message to the pharmaceutical companies that they need to be transparent about list prices and why changes are being implemented.

I'd like to underscore the financial burden people like me face every single day. While there may be additional costs or financial increases to reporting by the pharmaceutical companies, I have never been able to build a savings account, I can't plan vacations with my spouse. Our tax refund is usually spent on insulin pump supplies and paying down doctor bills. In my nearly life-time of living with diabetes, I've gone through dozens of injections of steroids in my eye, laser

treatments in both eyes, cataract surgery, two frozen shoulders (one that required surgery and both required two years of physical therapy), emergency room visits, and visiting my Endocrinologist every three months. One year I spent \$10,000 out of pocket on my care, including list price of my Humalog when I ran out between my prescribed amount.

You may also hear arguments about the need for funding for innovation. As I mentioned earlier, the cost of insulin has skyrocketed over 1200% since 1996, yet the insulin itself has not changed, providing zero innovative change to our lifesaving medication.

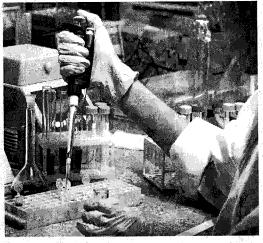
Thank you for listening to my story and this data. I strongly urge a DO PASS on HB 345.

Thank you.

BIG PHARMA'S BIG LIE

THE TRUTH ABOUT INNOVATION & DRUG PRICES







PATIENTS FOR AFFORDABLE DRUGS

CONTENTS

• <u>Overview</u>
• Pharma's Innovation Argument 4
• Reducing pharma profit is possible without harming innovation
• A new drug does not equal new innovation
• Pharma exaggerates the cost of new drugs 8
• <u>Innovation is coming from taxpayers</u> 9
• Case Study: COVID-19 Vaccines Expose Pharma's Lie
• Claim that drugs won't be available if we lower prices is a red herring
• Conclusion 13

OVERVIEW

"Investments in life saving research, patient access to medicines, and future innovation could be at risk."

- Ad sponsored by the trade association PhRMA opposing legislation to lower drug prices¹

This is the claim — the threat the pharmaceutical industry has been hiding behind for decades. Multinational drug corporations tell us that if we do anything to curb their ability to dictate prices on brand drugs, research and development will dry up, innovation will grind to a halt, valuable new drugs will not come to market, and patients will die as a result.

This report examines the well-worn claim from the pharmaceutical industry and documents why it is specious.

Underpinning this analysis is a fundamental fact: No one cares more about innovation than patients. We represent patients with incurable cancers, patients who rely on drugs to manage chronic conditions that come with difficult side effects, patients who are taking old drugs like insulin that should have more modern, less expensive options.

Patients want innovation, but we also want balance. The most innovative drug in the world is worthless if it is not affordable and accessible. So we seek to maintain the pipeline for true innovation while ensuring prices are within reach of individuals and society.

The fact is, people in the United States are dving right now not only because there are no treatments for certain diseases. but also because existing drugs are too expensive. Indeed, more than 1.1 million Medicare patients could die over the next decade because they cannot afford to pay for their current prescription medications.² An enormous body of research supports the fact that lower prices for drugs result in better adherence to prescriptions and therefore better health.3 Analyses from the Congressional Budget Office support this conclusion.4

So the question we explore is this: Can we constrain drug corporations' unfettered pricing power in the United States and still get the innovation we seek? We look at Big Pharma's argument as a starting point.

¹ PhRMA, (2020), Charlie Baker's proposal puts government between you and your doctor [Advertisement]. Retrieved from https://local.baystatebanner.com/ washington-us-dc/phrma-202-835-3400/2020-12-23-11760636-chareg-bakers-rroposal-puts-government-between-you-and-your-doctor-governmentprice-setting-means-politicians-can-arbitrarily-decide-that-some-patients-and-diseases-are-worth-more-than-others-potentially-discriminating-ogainstseniors-t

² Council for Informed Drug Spending Analysis. (2020, November 18). High Drug Prices and Patient Costs: Millions of Lives and Billions of Dollars Lost. https:// www.cidsa.org/publications/xcenda-summary

³ Juga, A. O., & McGuire, M. J. (2014). Adherence and health care costs. Risk Management and Healthcare Policy, 7, 35-44. https://doi.org/10.2147/RMHP. S19801

⁴ Congressional Budget Office. (2019, October 11). Effects of Drug Price Negotiation Stemming From Title 1 of H.R. 3, the Lower Drug Costs Now Act of 2019, on Spending and Revenues Related to Part D of Medicare. https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2019-10/hr3ltr.pdf

PHARMA'S INNOVATION ARGUMENT

The drug corporations' argument can be summarized as follows: Research and development is risky and expensive. When investors look to fund projects, they don't care if they make money on cell phones or cell therapy. So, if we limit the ability of drug corporations to charge whatever prices they want when research succeeds, investors will find something else to fund and cutting-edge cures will be left behind. They point to other countries that negotiate prices that have fewer drugs available as proof that patients will lose access to innovation if we restrain prices by any amount.

The argument seems to make sense on its face. But when you look more closely, it doesn't hold up. Here's why.

Experts agree that some reduction in pharmaceutical revenue and profit is clearly possible without harming innovation.

There is little doubt that if we zeroed out profits in the pharmaceutical industry—or any industry for that matter — innovation would suffer at some point as profits declined. But we're not arguing for policy

proposals that zero out profits — not even close. We're advocating for a system that better balances fair prices and profit with innovation.

"When the biopharma industry says that any change to drug pricing is going to destroy the innovation engine, that's not really true."

So says Dr. Craig Garthwaite, a recognized microeconomist, research professor in

hospital and health services, and director of the Program on Healthcare at the Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern University.⁶ He has looked closely at this question, and his research demonstrates that some reduction in prices is possible without harming innovation.⁶

"When the biopharma industry says that any change to drug pricing is going to destroy the innovation engine, that's not really true."

⁵ Lieberman, S. M., Ginsburg, P. B., & Patel, K. (2020, November 24). Balancing Lower U.S. Prescription Drug Prices And Innovation – Part 1. Health Affairs. https://www.healthaffairs.org/do/10.1377/hblog20201123.804451/full/

⁶ Waikar, S. (2020, September 2). Pharma Companies Argue That Lower Drug Prices Would Mean Fewer Breakthrough Drugs. Is That True?. Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern University. https://insight.kellogg.northwestern.edu/article/pharma-companies-argue-lower-drug-prices-fewer-breakthrough-drugs

The critical distinction, Garthwaite says, is the degree to which prices are lowered: "The important point here is to distinguish between *any* decrease and very *large* decreases."7

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) analyzed the impact on drug development that could result from a large decrease in pharmaceutical industry revenue — as much as \$1 trillion dollars over 10 years — from H.R. 3, which was passed by the House of Representatives in 2019.4 Even given that sizable reduction in revenue, CBO concluded that it would have only a modest impact — reducing the number of drugs coming to market by approximately eight out of 300 over an initial 10-year period and about 30 fewer drugs over the subsequent decade.8 And as we'll see later in this report, the absence of these relatively few drugs may have little or no impact on patient well-being.

The fact is that pharma is a highly profitable industry; there is plenty of room to trim profits while maintaining investment in innovation. The profit margins of drug corporations are

Outrageous Margins Leave Plenty of Room To Lower Prices. Three Examples:

Insulin

It costs between \$3.69 and \$6.16 to produce a vial of the most commonly used analog insulins, but the branded versions are priced at between \$275 and \$289 per vial.^{9,10}

Albendazole

Even though this antiparasitic pill can retail for over \$400 per tablet, it can be made and distributed for about \$13.11

Revlimid

This anti-cancer drug costs less than a dollar per capsule to make, but is sold at **\$833 per capsule.** 12,13

⁷ Garthwaite, C. [@C_Garthwaite]. (2020, October 20). It's important to read beyond the one quote – the important point here is to distinguish between "any" decrease and very "large" decreases like international reference pricing. I've long proposed sensible market based reforms that would lower revenues but lead to a better system [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/C_Garthwaite/status/1318521220132995074

⁸ Congressional Budget Office. (2019. December 10). Budgetary Effects of H.R. 3, the Elijah E. Cummings Lower Drug Costs Now Act. https://www.cbo.gov/ system/files/2019-12/hr3_complete.pdf

⁹ Gotham, D., Barber, M. J., & Hill, A. (2018). Production costs and potential prices for biosimilars of human insulin and insulin analogues. BMJ Global Health, 3(5). https://gh.bmj.com/content/bmjgh/3/5/e000850.full.pdf

¹⁰ Patients For Affordable Drugs. (2019, November 11). The Truth About Insulin Prices. https://patientsforaffordabledrugs.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/ The-Insulin-Report-Final-V.-1-1.ndf

¹¹ McGrath, L., & Griffin, R. (2021, January 14). Mark Cuban Plans Low-Cost Generic Drugs With Pharma Startup. Bloomberg. https://www.bloomberg.com/ news/articles/2021-01-14/mark-cuban-cost-plus-drug-company-launches-to-give-cheaper-care?sref=g1mkOfvB.

¹² Koons, C., & Langreth, R. (2018, January 2). The Loopholes Drug Companies Use to Keep Prices High. Bloomberg Quint. https://www.bloombergquint. com/business/the-loopholes-drug-companies-use-to-keep-prices-high

¹³ Drugs.com. (n.d.). Revlimid Prices, Coupons and Patient Assistance Programs. Retrieved January 26, 2021 from https://www.drugs.com/price-guide/revlimid

almost three times the average of the S&P 500.¹⁴ Even though one in every five dollars of U.S. health care spending is on drugs, the pharmaceutical industry collects 63

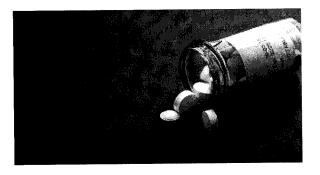
percent of the profits for the entire health sector.¹⁵ The money that U.S.-based drug companies make by charging Americans high prices is 76 percent greater than what's needed to fund their entire global research and development (R&D) expenditures.¹⁶ \$20 billion a year marketing their products to health care providers and another \$6 billion in direct-to-consumer advertising. Nine out of 10 big pharmaceutical

The reality is that even if profits were reduced by billions, the drug industry would still be more profitable than most publicly traded companies...

companies spend more on marketing, sales, and overhead than on research. ¹⁹ In 2019, the drug makers that belong to the trade group PhRMA together spent more than \$120 million lobbying Congress. ²⁰

Pharma wants us to think that drug pricing reform will hurt innovation and new drug development by making the pharmaceutical industry unattractive to investors and impeding investments into R&D. The reality is that even if profits were reduced by billions, the drug industry would still be more profitable than most publicly traded companies, and therefore attractive to investors.

Additionally, if drug pricing legislation curbs profits, the industry can maintain or even increase R&D investment by shifting spending on marketing, advertising, and lobbying. Pharmaceutical companies spend



Drug companies would have us believe that any dollar cut from profits is a dollar less spent on inventing cures, but they fail to acknowledge that they choose how to direct dollars. Clearly there is money available from marketing, advertising, and lobbying to lower prices and protect innovation.

com/2020/01/23/lobbying-drug-pricing-receipts/

¹⁴ Yardeni Research. (2021, January 19). S&P 500 Sectors & Industries Profit Margins (quarterly). https://www.yardeni.com/pub/sp500margin.pdf

¹⁵ Herman, B. (2018, November 12). Pharma's grip on the health care economy. Axios. https://www.axios.com/pharma-health-care-economy-q3-profits-53b950b2-5515-4d79-b1f5-7067bf3652d1.html

¹⁶ Yu, N. L., Helms, Z., & Bach, P. B. (2017, March 7). R&D Costs For Pharmaceutical Companies Do Not Explain Elevated US Drug Prices. Health Affairs. https://www.healthaffairs.org/do/10.1377/hblog20170307.059036/full

¹⁷ Schwartz, L. M., & Woloshin, S. (2019). Medical Marketing in the United States, 1997-2016. JAMA. 321(1), 80-96. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2018.19320

¹⁸ Bulik, B. S. (2020, February 19). The top 10 ad spenders in Big Pharma for 2019. FiercePharma. https://www.fiercepharma.com/special-report/top-10-advertisers-big-pharma-for-2019

¹⁹ Swanson, A. (2015, February 11). Big pharmaceutical companies are spending far more on marketing than research. *The Washington Post.* https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2015/02/11/big-pharmaceutical-companies-are-spending-far-more-on-marketing-than-research/20 Florko, N. (2020, January 23). Want to know how contentious drug pricing is in Washington? Check the receipts. STAT. https://www.statnews.

A new drug does not equal new innovation.

Instead of investing in R&D

breakthrough therapies, drug

that could lead to new

The drug industry talks a lot about how reforms to lower prices threaten cutting-edge breakthroughs, but in reality, only a fraction of new medications are truly innovative. Since 1975, only 10 to 15 percent of drugs entering the market represented therapeutic advances; instead, drug companies prioritized the development of existing drugs with minor variations that lack

clinical significance.21

Drug patents offer a stark illustration of this point. Between 2005 and 2015, 78 percent of drug patents were related to drugs already on the market.²² Instead of investing in R&D that could lead to new breakthrough therapies, drug companies spend resources obtaining patents on

old drugs — not to improve user experience — but to extend patent protection, prolong monopoly pricing periods, and keep generic competitors off the market.

So if we understand that new drugs are not the same as new cures, a small reduction in new drugs doesn't pose a threat to innovation. Harvard economist Richard Frank summed it up this way: "If drug companies claim lowering drug prices means somewhat fewer new drug launches, remember that there are numerous new products sold every year whose elimination

would have little to no impact on the health of Americans."²³

If our current system of drug development does not result primarily in truly innovative drugs, we can't let the pharmaceutical industry use the threat of R&D cuts as a scapegoat to thwart reforms. We can create a system that incentivizes valuable

innovation that delivers meaningful clinical benefit to patients — instead of repurposing old drugs.

companies spend resources
obtaining patents on old
drugs — not to improve user
experience — to extend
patent protection, prolong
monopoly pricing periods,
and keep generic competitors
off the market.

²¹ Light, D. W., & Lexchin, J. R. (2012). Pharmaceutical research and development: what do we get for all that money?. BMJ, 345. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.e4348

²² Feldman, R. (2018). May Your Drug Price Be Evergreen. Oxford Journal of Law and the Biosciences, 5(3):590-647. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3061567 23 Frank, R. G. (2019, November 13). Drug companies exaggerate — controlling drug prices won't threaten innovation. The Hill. https://thehill.com/opinion/healthcare/470266-drug-companies-exaggerate-controlling-drug-prices-wont-threaten-innovation

Pharma exaggerates the cost of new drugs.

Pharma asserts that it costs \$2.87 billion to invent a drug, but that number is grossly exaggerated.²⁴ This oft-cited claim can be traced to researchers working out of a pharma-funded center at Tufts University whose methods have been widely criticized for their overestimates. 25,26,27 Additionally. source data is not disclosed, barring verification of results by independent researchers. Independent analyses put the cost closer to \$1 billion. One study in JAMA Internal Medicine put the cost of a new cancer drug at \$648 million.²⁸ Another study from the London School of Economics published in JAMA estimated the median capitalized research and development cost per therapeutic product from 2009 to 2018 was \$985 million — about a third of the Tufts estimate.29

Even if we accept the high range of estimates, policymakers must consider that the return on most drugs exponentially exceeds R&D investments during the monopoly pric-

ing period. In 2019, the top 10 drugs each made between \$4.7 billion and \$21 billion in sales, with taxpayers driving spending on these blockbusters through publicly funded insurance programs.^{30,31}



Drug companies simply charge as much as they think they can get away with. An 18-month congressional investigation concluded that drug companies raised prices not to fund innovation — but to hit profit targets and trigger incentive payments for executives.³²

²⁴ DiMasi, J. A., Grabowski, H. G., & Hansen, R. W. (2016). Innovation in the pharmaceutical industry: New estimates of R&D costs. *Journal of Health Economics*, 47, 20-33. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2016.01.012

²⁵ Tufts Center for the Study of Drug Development. (n.d.). Financial Disclosure. https://csdd.tufts.edu/financial-disclosure

²⁶ Carroll, A. E. (2014, November 18). \$2.6 Billion to Develop a Drug? New Estimate Makes Questionable Assumptions. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/19/upshot/calculating-the-real-costs-of-developing-a-new-drug.html

²⁷ Light, D. W., & Warburton, R. (2011). Demythologizing the high costs of pharmaceutical research. *BioSocieties*, 6, 34-50. https://doi.org/10.1057/biosoc.2010.40

²⁸ Prasad, V., & Mailankody, S. (2017). Research and Development Spending to Bring a Single Cancer Drug to Market and Revenues After Approval. JAMA Internal Medicine, 177(11), 1569-1575. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamainternmed.2017.3601

²⁹ Wouters, O. J., McKee, M., & Lutyen, J. (2020). Estimated Research and Development Investment Needed to Bring a New Medicine to Market, 2009-2018. JAMA, 323(9), 844-853. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2020.1166

³⁰ Herman, B. (2020, August 12). The top-selling drugs in the U.S. in 2019. Axios. https://www.axios.com/top-selling-drugs-america-2019-f32a8818-a37c-4581-a805-bcf73942c1de.html

³¹ Patients For Affordable Drugs. (2019). 2,879 Medicare Part D Drugs Total \$151 Billion in Spending [Infographic]. https://patientsforaffordabledrugs.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/6.13-Combined-Chartpack.pdf

³² Committee on Oversight and Reform. (2020). Drug Pricing Investigation: Celgene and Bristol Myers Squibb—Revlimid. https://oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/Celgene%20BMS%20Staff%20Report%2009-30-2020.pdf

Innovation is coming from taxpayers.

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) is the single "largest biomedical research agency in the world."33 The trade association PhRMA says all the companies in the entire U.S. biopharmaceutical industry invested an estimated \$102 billion in research and development in 2018.34 The NIH alone spent \$36.6 billion that year, a large share of which supported science that is foundational for drug development. 35,36

In addition to the NIH, the U.S. government also funded drug-related research in 2018 through the Biomedical Advanced Research and Development Authority (BARDA) and the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) that paved the way for rapid development of groundbreaking new mRNA COVID-19 vaccines.37 (See "COVID-19 Vaccines Expose Pharma's Lie" below.)

NIH funding contributed to research associated with all 356 new drugs approved by the FDA from 2010 to 2019, totaling \$230 billion.³⁸ NIH Director Francis Collins

confirms: "Finding new treatments thus requires NIH to play a lead role - by investing in the early stage of therapeutic development to 'de-risk' such projects."39 Increasingly, however, it's not only early research into basic science.

> **NIH Director Francis** Collins confirms: "Finding new treatments thus requires NIH to play a lead role — by investing in the early stage of therapeutic development to 'de-risk' such projects."

³³ National Institutes of Health. (n.d.). About NIH. Retrieved January 26, 2021 from https://www.nih.gov/about-nih

³⁴ PhRMA. (n.d.). Research & Development. Retrieved January 26, 2021 from https://www.phrma.org/Advocacy/Research-Development

³⁵ National Institutes of Health. (n.d.). NIH Budget History. Retrieved January 26, 2021 from https://report.nih.gov/nihdatabook/category/1

³⁶ National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2020). The Role of NIH in Drug Development Innovation and Its Impact on Patient Access: Proceedings of a Workshop. The National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/25591

³⁷ Allen, A. (2020, November 18). Government-Funded Scientists Laid the Groundwork for Billion-Dollar Vaccines. Kaiser Health News. https://khn.org/news/ vaccine-pioneers-basic-research-scientists-laid-groundwork-for-billion-dollar-pharma-products/

³⁸ Ledley, F., Cleary, E., & Jackson, M. (2020, September 2). US Tax Dollars Funded Every New Pharmaceutical in the Last Decade. Institute for New Economic Thinking. https://www.ineteconomics.org/perspectives/blog/us-tax-dollars-funded-every-new-pharmaceutical-in-the-last-decade

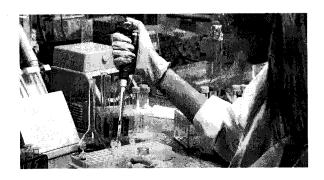
³⁹ Collins, F. S. (2017, May 17). Testimony on the Transformative Power of Biomedical Research. National Institutes of Health. https://www.nih.gov/about-nih/ who-we-are/nih-director/testimony-transformative-power-biomedical-research

Mark L. Rohrbaugh, NIH special advisor for technology transfer, says, "The public sector now has a much more direct role in the applied-research phase of drug discovery." In fact, about 1 in 4 new drugs over the last decade have had late-stage taxpayer support in drug development, and those drugs were more likely to be therapeutically significant. 41

The NIH is the engine for science that leads to innovative new drugs. Research shows that 70 to 90 percent of priority review, first-in-class, or top-selling drugs can be traced to publicly funded research, and 20 to 30 percent of these drugs can be directly linked to publicly funded research.³⁶ Another extensive study of new drug development from 1984 to 2009 concluded that the "substantial public investment in drug discovery leads to many of the most transformative drugs."36,42 Importantly, as NIH Director Collins points out, taxpayerfunded research helps de-risk drug development for private companies, further undermining their claims to high prices based on high risk.39

A 2017 study found that "NIH funding generates large numbers of private-sector patents" with "large spillover from the lab to commercial activity." The lead researcher,

Pierre Azoulay, a professor at the MIT Sloan School of Management, noted: "If you thought the NIH exists in an ivory tower, you're wrong. They are the nexus of knowledge that really unifies two worlds."



Research shows "a sustained 10 percent increase in targeted, disease-specific NIH funding yields approximately a 4.5 percent increase in the number of related drugs entering clinical testing." Lower prescription drug prices will allow us to direct government savings to the NIH to support research aimed at drugs that address public health priorities — innovative medicines we need — not just drugs that will produce the highest profits for the pharmaceutical industry.

⁴⁰ Pear, R. (2018, May 28), 'Paying Twice': A Push for Affordable Prices for Taxpayer-Funded Drugs. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/28/us/politics/drug-prices.html

⁴¹ Nayak, R. K., Avorn, J., & Kesselheim, A. S. (2019). Public sector financial support for late stage discovery of new drugs in the United States: cohort study. *The BMJ*, 367. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.l5766

⁴² Kesselheim, A. S., Tan, Y. T., & Avorn, J. (2015). The Roles Of Academia, Rare Diseases, And Repurposing In The Development Of The Most Transformative Drugs. Health Affairs, 34(2), 286-293. https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2014.1038

⁴³ Dizikes, P. (2017, March 30), Study: NIH funding generates large numbers of private-sector patents. MIT. https://news.mit.edu/2017/study-nih-funding-generates-large-numbers-private-sector-patents-0330

⁴⁴ Blume-Kohout, M. E. (2012). Does targeted, disease-specific public research funding influence pharmaceutical innovation?. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 31(3), 641-60. https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.21640

COVID-19 VACCINES EXPOSE PHARMA'S LIE

We all celebrate the speed with which COVID-19 vaccines have been developed. Big Pharma claims credit for that innovation, but the truth is that taxpayers and tax-advantaged investment by notfor-profits made it possible to get those vaccines in record time.

In 2018, only 1 percent of research and development projects in pharmaceutical companies were for emerging infectious diseases.45 In fact, of the 20 companies that spent \$2 billion on research and development in 2019, only four had units dedicated to vaccine development.46

But when corporations were not investing in vaccines, U.S. taxpayers did invest through the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). Here's how the biopharmaceutical industry publication BioCentury explains it:

"(DARPA) has taken risks where others wouldn't. DARPA was behind the creation of DNA and RNA vaccines, funding early R&D by Moderna Inc. and Inovio Pharmaceuticals Inc. at a time when the technologies were considered speculative by many scientists and investors."47

Kaiser Health News reports that government funding through a trio of taxpayer-supported entities was key to both early research and late-stage trials, accelerating the entire process to develop COVID-19 vaccines:

"Basic research conducted...at the National Institutes of Health, Defense Department, and federally funded academic laboratories has been the essential ingredient in the rapid development of vaccines in response to COVID-19."48

The New York Times pointed out the reward derived from all the taxpayer investment:

"A new method of developing vaccines was already waiting to be tested...The government was willing to spend whatever it took, eliminating financial risks and... allowing mass production to begin even before trials were done."49

When the moment came for Operation Warp Speed, the money for research, production, and distribution overwhelmingly came from the government.50 The Washington Post reported:

"These accomplishments are remarkable, but they are not 'miracles,' in the sense that they sprang fully formed from work that began in the spring. They relied on basic research done over decades in government, academic and company research labs. Even the financial model used to insulate vaccine makers from financial risk traced back to an agency that Congress created in late 2006 to incentivize companies to develop urgently needed medicines."51

One noted industry expert, Jack Scannell, summed it up this way:

"Before we pat the drug industry on the back too much, one has to recognize it got involved in this partly because the whole thing has been de-risked by government."

Now analysts predict the drug corporations will realize \$40 billion in revenue from vaccines in 2021 alone, with windfall profits running as high as 50 to 60 percent. 52, 53

⁴⁵ Edwards, D. J. (2020, April 14). New products alone are not enough: Pharma can do more to halt COVID-19. Access to Medicine Foundation, https:// accesstomedicine foundation or g/media/uploads/downloads/5e95d85128fb9_ATMF_Viewpoint_Role_for_pharma_in_C-19_200414%30(1),odf 46 Nisen, M. (2020, January 23). Deadly Viruses Aren't Pharma's Top Priority. Why Not? Bloomberg, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/ articles/2020-01-23/drug-industry-may-lack-pandemic-preparedness?sref=g1mkOivB

⁴⁷ Usdin, S. (2020, March 25). DARPA's gambles might have created the best 1996s for stopping COVID-19. BioCentury, https://www.biocentury.com/ article/S04e91/dama-jump-started-technologies-behind-some-of-the leading-covid-19-vaccine-and antibody hopes 48 TaFraniere, S., Thomas, K., Weilarid, N., Gelles, D., Stolberg, S. G., S. Grady, D. (2020, November 30), Politics, Science and the Remarkable Race for a

Coronavirus Vaccine. The New York Times, https://www.inytimes.com/2020/11/21/us/politics/coronavirus-vaccine.htm

⁴⁹ U.S. Department of Health & Human Services (2021, January 21). Fact Sheet: Explaining Operation Warp Spread. Petrieved January 26, 2021 from https:// www.hhs.gov/coronavirus/explaining-operation-warp-speed/index.html

^{50.} Abutaleb, Y., McGinloy, L., & Johnson, C. Y. (2020. December 14). How the deep state scient sts villfied by Frimp helped him deliver an unpreceder ted achievernent. *The Wishington Pest.* https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/12/14/trump-operation-warp-speed-vaccine/ 51 Neville, S. & Kuchler, H. (2020, November 27). Covid vaccines offer Big Pharma a chance of rehabilitation. Financial Times, https://www.ft.com.

content/75029086-10f3-4ca2-8954-5a7207c0c3db 52 Taylor, N. (2020, September 3). Analysts tip COVID-19 vaccines to generate \$40br. next year. BioPhorma Reporter, https://www.biouhanma-reporter.com/

Article/2020/09/03/Analysts-tip-COVID-19-vaccines-to-generate-40ba-next-ye 56. Gollom, M. (2020; November 25). Some companies will make big money of their COVID-19 vaccines — but not as much as they could: CBC hittps://www. cbc.ca/news/business/covid-vaccine-p-ofits-pharmaceutical-companies-pfizer-1.5812619

Pharma's claim that drugs won't be available in the United States if we lower prices is a red herring.

Big Pharma likes to point out that more drugs are available — and are available faster — in the United States than in other wealthy countries. It frequently references a white paper from the White House Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) to explain why: "Drug manufacturers usually pursue market access in the United States before other markets due to the higher prices in the United States." The CEA could also have mentioned the other big reason drug companies file for approval first in the United States: It is the largest market in the world.

Given that U.S. prices for drugs are almost four times what many other wealthy nations pay, we can lower prices by a meaningful amount and still offer the highest prices by far in the largest market in the world, preserving the incentive to file first for approval in the United States.^{56, 57}

U.S. prices for drugs are almost four times what many other wealthy nations pay.

There are other important policies in the U.S. drug pricing system that lead to more drugs being available here compared to other countries, none of which would be altered by lowering prices:

- Medicare must cover all drugs in six protected classes, which even PhRMA acknowledges ensures access to these drugs.^{58,59}
- Medicare must cover at least two drugs in each class of drugs.⁶⁰
- Medicaid must cover every drug offered by a manufacturer in the United States if the manufacturer agrees to give Medicaid a best price guarantee.⁶¹

 $^{54\} Association\ of\ Community\ Cancer\ Centers\ v.\ Alex\ M.\ Azar\ II.\ Civil\ Action\ No.\ CCB-20-3531\ (2020).\ https://www.phrma.org/-/media/Project/PhRMA-Project/PhRMA-Org/PhRMA-Org/PhRMA-Complaint-on-MFN-Rule-Filed-2020-12-04.pdf$

⁵⁵ The Council of Economic Advisers. (2018). Reforming Biopharmaceutical Pricing at Home and Abroad. https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/CEA-Rx-White-Paper-Final2.pdf

⁵⁶ Mulcahy, A. W., Whaley, C., Tebeka, M. G., Schwarn, D., Edenfield, N., & Becerra-Ornelas, A. U. (2021). International Prescription Drug Price Comparisons. RAND Corporation. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2956.html

⁵⁷ Committee on Ways and Means. (2019). A Painful Pill to Swallow: U.S. vs. International Prescription Drug Prices. https://waysandmeans.house.gov/sites/democrats.waysandmeans.house.gov/files/documents/U.S.%20vs.%20International%20Prescription%20Drug%20Prices_O.pdf

⁵⁸ Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services. (2019, May 16). Medicare Advantage and Part D Drug Pricing Final Rule (CMS-4180-F). https://www.cms.gov/newsroom/fact-sheets/medicare-advantage-and-part-d-drug-pricing-final-rule-cms-4180-f

⁵⁹ Powaleny, A. (2015, December 10). Medicare Part D's six protected classes. PhRMA. https://catalyst.phrma.org/medicare-part-d-six-protected-classes

⁶⁰ What Medicare Part D drug plans cover. (n.d.). CMS.gov. Retrieved January 26, 2021 from https://www.medicare.gov/drug-coverage-part-d/what-medicare-part-d-drug-plans-cover

⁶¹ Kaiser Family Foundation. (2019, May 1). Medicaid's Prescription Drug Benefit: Key Facts. https://www.kff.org/medicaid/fact-sheet/medicaids-prescription-drug-benefit-key-facts/

Aside from the fact that drug corporations often choose to file for approval in other countries later, another reason drugs sometimes come to market abroad after they are available in the United States is that other nations have a more sophisticated process to evaluate the value of drugs to patients. In the United States, every drug approved by the FDA as safe and effective automatically comes to market. Virtually every other wealthy nation in the world has another step post-approval called health technology assessment. 62 The countries examine the actual value of the drug in order to settle on an appropriate price. Drug companies have blocked efforts to use this step in the United States, although many health policy experts think it would improve fair pricing, affordability, and accessibility for patients over the longer term.

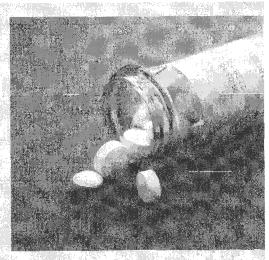
CONCLUSION

Big Pharma's innovation argument just does not stand up to scrutiny. We can't allow drug corporations to continue to hide behind their threat that if we do anything to curb the industry's unilateral pricing power, innovation will die.

The truth is that if we don't do something to restore the balance between pricing to reward innovation while ensuring affordability and accessibility, there is no doubt people will die because they cannot afford the existing drugs they need right now. And we won't be able to afford the new drugs to come.







62 Research and Markets. (2020, April 20). Global Health Technology Assessment in Pharma: A Review of Major Decisions, https://www.researchandmarkets.com/ reports/5014081/health-technology-assessment-in-pharma-a-review

STATEMENT

LEG Committee-House Judiciary testimony

From:

leg-noreply@mt.gov

Sent:

Saturday, February 13, 2021 5:17 AM

To:

LEG Applications Email Backup; LEG Committee-House Judiciary testimony

Public Comment for Bill HJ-11: Resolution designating ANTIFA as domestic terrorism in Subject:

Montana 2021-02-16 08:00 AM - (H) Judiciary Successfully Submitted on 02-13-21

05:16

Details:

Bill: HJ-11: Resolution designating ANTIFA as domestic terrorism in Montana 2021-02-16 08:00 AM - (H) Judiciary

Position: Proponent

Representing an Entity/Another Person: No

Organization: N/A Name: Derek Evers

Email: srevekered@gmail.com

Phone: (406) 200-5489 City, State: Billings, MT

Written Statement: Thank you for this bill. It is important to this state and to the United States that this bill be passed. ANTIFA has shown time and again that it is the direct opposite of what it says it stands for. Their actions are straight out of the Webster's Dictionary definition of Fascism. Especially "Forcible suppression of the opposition."

We have seen many videos of the ANTIFA mob viciously attack innocent people with their hands, clubs, chains, knives and unfortunately even using guns to execute some who they believe to be the opposition.

When violence on people isn't enough, They burn and destroy building and cars, without provocation, to terrorize the citizenry of Portland, Oregon and Seattle, Washington, to name just a couple of nearby cities, that have been dealing with the full force of this terrorist organization.

Make no mistake, they are a terrorist organization. To back this up, let's look at a few different sources' definition of "Terrorism".

The FBI's definition of Domestic terrorism is: "Violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups to further ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as those of a political, religious, social, racial, or environmental nature."

-Check.

Merriam-Webster's definition of Terrorism: "The systematic use of terror especially as a means of coercion" Well, what is does Merriam- Webster define as "terror"?

Definition # 2 says: " violence or the threat of violence used as a weapon of intimidation or coercion."

Definition #4: "Someone or something that inspires fear."

-Check

And Google's definition of terrorism is: "the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims."

-And, Check.

Just going by these definitions alone, there is absolutely no doubt that ANTIFA is a terrorist organization and should be classified as such.

It would be a great shame and disservice for not only Montana but also the United States, to not pass HJ-11.

ANTIFA clearly goes against everything Montana stands for it also goes against everything this country was founded upon.

Thank you.

Files:

Testify via Zoom: No Zoom Method: N/A

LEG Committee-House Judiciary testimony

From: leg-noreply@mt.gov

Sent: Monday, February 15, 2021 11:41 AM

To: LEG Applications Email Backup; LEG Committee-House Judiciary testimony

Subject: Public Comment for Bill HJ-11: Resolution designating ANTIFA as domestic terrorism in

Montana 2021-02-16 08:00 AM - (H) Judiciary Successfully Submitted on 02-15-21

11:40

Attachments: 438942.pdf

Details:

Bill: HJ-11: Resolution designating ANTIFA as domestic terrorism in Montana 2021-02-16 08:00 AM - (H) Judiciary

Position: Opponent

Representing an Entity/Another Person: No

Organization: N/A Name: John Driscoll

Email: driscolljohn37@gmail.com

Phone: (406) 437-1526 City, State: Helena, MT

Written Statement: Committee Chairperson and Members:

The proposed House Joint Resolution 11 is a useless distraction because today's terrorist organizations are "Chaordic." They must be assessed, not by what they call themselves, but by what they do.

This analysis of Montana's threats still holds true while providing a useful list of the kinds of actions, in combination, that might indicate terrorist activity. A House Joint Resolution encouraging renewed enforcement of the Montana Criminal Syndicalism Statute modernized to fit Montana's 1972 Constitutional protections, provides needed flexibility to defeat would be terrorists of all stripes:

- 45-8-105. Criminal syndicalism. (1) "Criminal syndicalism" means the advocacy of crime, malicious damage or injury to property, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends.
- (2) A person commits the offense of criminal syndicalism if he purposely or knowingly:
- (a) orally or by means of writing, advocates or promotes the doctrine of criminal syndicalism;
- (b) organizes or becomes a member of any assembly, group, or organization which he knows is advocating or promoting the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; or
- (c) for or on behalf of another whose purpose is to advocate or promote the doctrine of criminal syndicalism, distributes, sells, publishes, or publicly displays any writing advocating or advertising such doctrine.
- (3) A person convicted of the offense of criminal syndicalism shall be imprisoned in the state prison for a term not to exceed 10 years.
- (4) Whoever, being the owner or in possession or control of any premises, knowingly permits any assemblage of persons to use such premises for the purpose of advocating or promoting the doctrine of criminal syndicalism shall be fined not to exceed \$500 or imprisoned in the county jail for a term not to exceed 6 months, or both.

History: En. 94-7-503 by Sec. 1, Ch. 513, L. 1973; amd. Sec. 29, Ch. 359, L. 1977; R.C.M. 1947, 94-7-503.

Sincerely,

John Brian Driscoll Files: 438942.pdf Testify via Zoom: No Zoom Method: N/A The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

A CHAORDIC THREAT: RIGHT WING TERRORISM IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN B. DRISCOLL
Montana Army National Guard

19960529 012

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:

Approved for public release.

Distribution is unlimited

USAWC CLASS OF 1996



U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5050

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

A Chaordic Threat: Right Wing Terrorism In The United States

by

Lieutenant Colonel John B. Driscoll Montana Army National Guard

Professor Gabriel Marcella Project Adviser

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

U.S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A: Approved for public release. Distribution is unlimited.

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: John B. Driscoll (LTC), Montana Army National Guard

TITLE: A Chaordic Threat: Right Wing Terrorism In The United States

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 5 February 1996 Pages: 37 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

Future war is emerging in our own culture and language. The threat is chaordic and possesses unity of effort with little visible unity of command. Our nation is at risk but doesn't fully comprehend an enemy that is elusive, global, serious, survivable and effective. This paper focuses on the traits endemic to a threat that purposefully avoids definition, and is strategically targeting the United States Government portion of Clausewitz's remarkable trinity as an intermediate objective. Because its shared strategic purpose is global, this chaordic threat conducts superterrorism. This threat poses a learning opportunity about full dimension war, and suggests that points of departure to the new paradigm are flattening hierarchical organizations and redefining doctrinal battlespace as battlesystem awareness. Strategic success will depend on linking security battlesystems in real battlespace.

Introduction

Future war is here today, emerging in our own culture and language. The enemy is elusive, global, serious, survivable, and effective. Our nation is at risk but doesn't fully comprehend. If we approach the United States portion of the emerging threat as a case study, we have opportunity to know our enemy and know ourselves. We can gather lessons that will help us adapt to defeat the same threat emerging in all cultures.

The source of power of this threat is a tightening weave of hatred, fear, ignorance, and a need to place blame for overwhelming economic and cultural change. Recruits to the threat are persons ignorant of the higher human core values that underlie or oppose cultural patterns they feel changing. Fear and hatred, combined with ignorance, is a powerful force generator. This is the enemy center of gravity.'

Personal accountability, tolerance, open communication, education, faith, hope and love can overwhelm this threat. Security battlesystems that maintain stability must have positive attitudes toward improved understanding. As Thomas Jefferson hoped,² our nation has become a state of mind and heart that we share with all peoples. The love we feel for our nation and our pride in citizenship will equip all of us networked together to stem the widening cycle of global violence.

Definitions

Today's most serious threats are chaordics that enjoy unity of effort with little or no unity of command. A chaord is any self organizing, adaptive, nonlinear, complex system, whether physical, biological, or social, that exhibits characteristics of both order and chaos. Unity of effort combines with the volatility and global speed of information, technology, and wealth transfer to release previously untapped human ingenuity. With time and distance compression, chaordics routinely

outperform Industrial Age hierarchies unable to adapt.³ To understand the threat, we have to understand chaos.

Chaos theory erupted in western scientific circles after 1970. Chaos is a science of the global nature of systems, and the universal behavior of complexity. As Clausewitz did, chaos thinkers look for the whole.⁴ Clausewitz would now consider the conduct of war as science and art. In having to choose war as art only, Clausewitz concluded war must have purpose, as art has purpose.⁵ If war is just another form of chaos, the perception of a remarkable trinity of purposeful state, creative army leaders, and primordial people may have been a passing phenomenon more reflective of Industrial Age organization. Today primordial force, creativity and purpose is less dependent on hierarchy and more easily found in small groups and individuals.

"Unity of effort" does not require "unity of command." Strategic warfighters have never enjoyed the clean lines of authority we associate with tactics. Tactical fighting is about habitual relationships and cooperation in the midst of chaos. Hiding bureaucracy behind "unity of command" is no longer acceptable. Interagency action must identify and address real problems faster. As the tactical and the strategic levels blend, coordinated interagency warfighters must at times become more like a single flattened battlesystem. Future unity of effort will depend on how well opened compartments reconfigure their resources to the realities of modern battlespace.

Battlespace is real. The outer limits of battlespace include the lifeless lithosphere, the living biosphere, space and the farthest reaches of the noosphere, the thinking layer superimposed on the earth's surface. Since our inner selves are included, battlespace is not an objective reality. Our military and civil security battlesystems, including our

minds and hearts and spirits, operate in every dimension.

Doctrinal battlespace has limits not found in real battlespace.

Combat limits are: "The maximum capabilities of friendly and enemy forces to acquire and dominate each other by fires and maneuver and in the electromagnetic spectrum." In military operations other than war combat power alone doesn't set the limits.

Battlesystems expand their awareness with liaison to other security battlesystems, agencies, host governments, and non-governmental organizations. As they do, they expand the "physical volume" of real battlespace within their influence. Changed mental attitude will sufficiently connect the awareness of security battlesystems in real battlespace. In modern warfare this translates to "continuing appreciation of the battlespace." Once barriers, which in a sense consist only in man's ignorance of what is possible, are torn down, they are not so easily set up again. A security battlesystem that senses a changing battlespace situation must be able to "pull down" what it needs from a sufficiently broadbased free and open flow of information. Elusiveness then becomes less of a defense for the threat.

Elusiveness is the enemy's essential survival characteristic. From the way it casually labels others, this chaordic knows intuitively that definition is an exercise of power. Rather than liberate with effective explanation, this threat oppresses by jamming our shared ability to communicate. It purposefully evades being defined or fixed by a jurisdiction. In the 1960's, police officers learned not to overreact when called names like "pig". They were taught that "the word is not the thing." This chaordic avoids identification as friend or foe by being "a thing that is not the word." An example is: "I'm not a white supremacist. I'm a white separatist." In the age of television, when enemies have a

human face and a personality, sliding around under labels is a powerful tactic. Variations on this ruse have given whole new meaning to words like Christian, patriot, militia, populist, fully-informed jury, freemen, constitutional rights, and nationalism. This characteristic tends to neutralize the English language for fixing the threat in battlespace.

Elusiveness disarms analysts in friendly battlesystems with the false impression that this threat is too highly "fractionalized" to be serious. A variation plays both sides of jurisdictional boundaries under different names or different guises. Another operates visibly where acceptable and keeps a low profile where security battlesystems are sensitized and ready. This threat exploits the boundaries of Industrial Age organization and the language dependence of "low context" culture.¹³

Language shaped by the chaos and order of nature would be more useful. The Native American Pikuni dialect spoken by Blackfeet Indians is less rigid than English. One word, for example, will describe a potato that is dead and separated from the ground. Another word will describe a potato when its a living system still rooted in the earth.¹⁴ The Blackfeet and other tribes also hook words together to make a growing or changing name. That practice seems appropriate here.

A Native American speaker might call this threat the Neo-Nazi, white supremacist, white separatist, Christian identity, right wing patriot, unorganized militia, skinhead, posse comitatus, barter and barrister, tax protest, anti-semitic, anti-government, freemen, gold warehousing, and more to come... chaordic. The name is too long, and there are certain to be non-hostile people who might refer to themselves by any one of the string in the name. The important essence of the threat has to be captured regardless of what it's called. Friendly battlesystems will have to learn to know the threat by its telltale traits.

Case Study

1. This chaordic threat is emerging in the same way that fire sometimes rekindles with a right mixture of fuel, heat, and oxygen. The fuel is people who escape the stern criticism of their superegos, by adjusting reality to conform with their idealized view of themselves. Rather than adjust their fragile egos to equilibrium with hard reality, they screen unwanted facts but welcome information that flatters the role they prefer. They abuse or exploit objects, so that any conflict between ego satisfaction and the real identity of external reality is resolved in favor of the self. This is not normal self-regard, but an extreme or pathological social attitude. They revert to an earlier stage of self-love after experiencing personal disappointment or injury. Evolved to the extreme, this "narcissistic object manipulation" is a willingness to treat victims as valueless discardable objects." 5

Overwhelming change is the heat. Decision stress, combined with sensory and cognitive overload, sometimes produces maladapted people. Consider the person whose old heroes and institutions are toppling, but needs a single neat equation to explain all of the threatening complexity? Some can't adjust to the United States' loss in Vietnam in such sharp contrast to the way "good guys" perform in war movies. Some can't accept people they consider racially or sexually inferior having the same rights as they do. Some need an explanation for why they are not doing well in the job market, can't pay their taxes, can't maintain the farm, or couldn't keep a spouse or lover. Simple answers that place "racially inferior" blacks on the "inside" track, or conspiracies behind it all are welcome to those who can't adapt. A few become true believers.

The oxygen is ignorance, fear, and hate. This chaordic presents its many faces to the susceptible in much the same way as did Charlie

Manson, "a man of a thousand faces." There is a need "which lies inside the individual's themselves" and the chaordic seems to fulfill it. Charlie Manson turned members of "the family" into killers of 35 to 40 people. He isolated the susceptible to a society with its own value system.17 He used repetition about the same subjects almost daily and once remarked in court: "You can convince anybody of anything if you just push it at them all of the time. They may not believe it 100 percent, but they will still draw opinions from it, especially if they have no other information to draw their opinions from." He exploited sexual hangups and the bond of genuine love that grew between members as they worked through daily problems. From control techniques he had seen and experienced between prison inmates, he used fear effectively even though his own fear bordered on paranoia. By raising the general level of fear, his own fear seemed more normal. He taught that it was always "us" versus "them." surfaced their latent hatred and focused their sadistic violence on a common enemy, the establishment. He depersonalized the victims into symbols, because it's easier to stab a symbol than a person. He used religion by implying that he was the Second Coming of Christ.18

Charlie Manson and Adolf Hitler sought out the kind of people that comprise this chaordic threat. They surrounded themselves with synchophants, sought out and used weaknesses in others, and then programmed them with repetition and fear. This nation may have defeated The Third Reich and jailed Helter Skelter, but the fuel, heat and oxygen has come together again.

2. The members of this chaordic inflate their own numbers. They give the larger world an impression that their more restrained neighbors agree with their antics. Bloated numbers are more smoke in a screen of groundless rumors, absurd for even a supermarket tabloid. Using every

media opportunity to hoax, outrage and inflame, this tiny fringe element, in the context of a healthy community, gives real meaning to the phrase: cultists, criminals, crazies, and crusaders. Neighbors often like chaordic members personally but don't treat their distantly directed rantings seriously. The lesson here is that the chaordic rarely speaks for the culture around it.

This chaordic thrives in the gap between national and local perceptions. The dangerous nature of the threat emerges in light of both local context and distant effect. There needs to be a fusion of perceptions between citizens at the community level and authorities at the national systems level. Dealing across major cultural boundaries, for example into the Mid East, the problem is bound to be even more severe. Video conferencing between the National Command Authority and local authorities, or holistic analysts sensitized to the cultural context, is now essential.

When there is a gap between perceptions at the local and the national level, this chaordic turns it to an advantage. Randy Weaver's reason to the U.S. Senate for always being armed was the grizzly bears in his neighborhood. He played to the urban viewers' fears and false Marlborough Country image of the West. The same justification makes Weaver unbelievable to neighbors, who rarely even think of grizzly bears.

3. The threat uses the "big lie" technique in a way reminiscent of Adolf Hitler. Big lies said over and over again gather a reality of their own. The mysterious black U.N. helicopters, the C.I.A. conspiracy to bomb the federal building in Oklahoma City, the missing front door at Waco, and the endless other claimed conspiracies are all big lies. Big lie attacks on institutions or individuals leave the assaulted in a role of having to disprove an assertion or an insinuation. This clearly reverses the innocent

until proven guilty tradition.

One straightfaced tax protester in Eastern Montana told a conscientious journalist, "Black men have one less rib than white men." The journalist checked with two different physicians to get an expert's view. The concept was **so** outrageous that neither had ever stopped to make such a rib count, and couldn't comment with certainty. The journalist finally had to check with a university anthropologist, who asked the journalist if he had lost his mind for even considering the matter seriously. Watch a concerned citizen try to disprove an unfounded absurd negative, and one begins to understand why the technique is **so** dangerous. The big lie is a definite mark of this chaordic.

- 4. This chaordic evolved from a longstanding domestic threat. ¹⁹ Torchbearers like Richard Butler, who brought the Aryan Nations to northern Idaho, and William Potter Gale, who brought the Posse Comitatus to Kansas, were disciples of inter-war Nazi, Wesley Swift. The Ku Klux Klan thread of the chaordic goes back to Nathan Bedford Forrest, the slave trader who showed military aptitude in irregular warfare during the Civil War. In its evolution, this chaordic is experiencing a phase change to something virulent and different from the hometown right-wingers of the 1950's and 1960's. Crisis means phase change. We usually capture this kind of phase change in nature with time elapsed snapshots of changing plants and animals. In the short-visioned way of our hierarchical organizations, we have not returned persistently enough over time to capture the emerging pattern. Our systems will see the crisis when it forces its way into our awareness and is unnecessarily too late.
- 5. This chaordic has a global strategic purpose. Overthrowing the United States government and its subordinate jurisdictions is just an intermediate objective. The formal Declaration of War against the Zionist

Occupational Government, signed by members of The Order, November 25, 1984, is still active. Hatred of Jews and free floating racism, are the higher unifying purpose. As an example, the Church of Jesus Christ Aryan Nations teaches that Jewish people are decendents of Eve being mated to the Devil, and all people of color are like "beasts in the field." People commonly dismiss this as placing the blame for one's problems on someone else. Scapegoating is at work, but more importantly for this chaordic, transferring blame to the Jews serves as a unifying strategic purpose. Louis Beam, the leader of the violent wing of the Ku Klux Klan, best expressed the chaordic's strategic priorities in 1984:

"Throughout the millenniums of warfare between the Aryan and the Jew, neither we nor they have ever won. The victories each has in turn known, when spread over the centuries, equal stalemate. However, Aryan technology has shrunk the whole earth to the size of one battlefield. The eternal war, which can most properly be called a Conflict of the Ages, has taken a final turn..."

Another lesson here is that calling oneself Christian, and being a Christian are clearly two different matters. Great care must always be taken not to lump the peoples of a faith, or a race, or a culture under some title that the chaordic gives itself.

6. This chaordic shares a three sided military doctrine. In the last few years Louis Beam spread "Leaderless Resistance." Leaderless resistance purposefully avoids pyramidal shaped organization. Beam, who likes to call himself Nathan Bedford Forrest, opts for the chaordic form, because it's too easy for federal agents to infiltrate hierarchical structures. Beam likens a survivable organization to the "committees of correspondence" of the American Revolution. One subgrouping of the chaordic disavowing any connection to another subgrouping a few miles

down the road is a telltale indicator of joint effort.

Peters was a minor figure in the chaordic when he got the worst end of an abusive verbal exchange with a Jewish American talk show host in Denver. A short time later the host's name, Alan Berg, appeared on an anonymously authored computerized hit list. Berg was then killed by members of The Order. Several of the hit team were members of Peters' congregation, as has been Randy Weaver of Ruby Ridge fame.²⁴ According to Peters, the Bible tells us to warn the government of its transgressions several times, then take matters into our own hands.²⁵

The chaordic understands and applies low intensity conflict doctrine of the United States Army. The enemy "center of gravity" is the "legitimacy of the government" in the people's eyes. ²⁶ An example of how this has worked in the past with the use of paramilitary militia or combat groups is the overthrow of the Wiemar Republic and the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany. ²⁷ Every indicator of the low intensity conflict template is present in the Montana-Idaho region. Every indicator of Special Forces unconventional warfare doctrine is there as well. ²⁸ Quotes from the doctrine have shown up in local letters to the editor from chaordic members. Many have substantial practical military experience applying the theory.

Former U.S. Army Special Forces LTC James Bo Gritz is particularly knowledgeable about low intensity conflict and special operations. He lost his bid for public office as Ku Klux Klansman David Duke's vice presidential candidate in 1988. He ran again unsuccessfully as the Populist Party candidate in 1992, and then announced he would no longer work through the system. The phrasing has a double meaning. He similarly phrased his statement that the "Oklahoma City Bombing is a Rembrandt...,"

meaning, he later said, that it must be the work of a C.I.A. specialist. Gritz has completed training a large, but unknown number, of persons in his eight phase S.P.I.K.E. program in a number of cities around the West. S.P.I.K.E. means Special Preparedness for Key Events, which may be tied to the confrontations he expects will continue to happen between the chaordic and civil authorities. In a 1994 newsletter, Gritz said, "The tyrants who ordered the assault on Waco deserve to be tried and executed as traitors." Gritz has actively worked with other members of the chaordic. The first three phases of S.P.I.K.E. training is now available for \$300 in gold on the upper west side of Manhattan in New York City. Gritz and his staff screen and select trainees to continue phases four through eight. The day of the Oklahoma bombing Gritz was speaking from the final phase of his Dallas, Texas, group when he made the Rembrandt remark.

7. The chaordic shares operational objectives. One obvious example is the "Northwest Imperative," also known as the "great trek" or "10 percent solution." The "northwest imperative" establishes the five states of the Northwest - Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming - and southern portions of Alberta and British Columbia as a separate territory which the white race can occupy. This is Richard Butler's Aryan Nation. Butler's contemporary, the late Robert Miles of the Church of the Mountain in Cohoctaw, Michigan, called the objective the "great trek." Robert Matthews, one of Butler's early security chiefs and leader of The Order, called it the "10 percent solution" before he died as an "aryan warrior" in a gunfight with the F.B.I. Butler and Miles knighted dozens more aryan warriors and widely instilled the notion of the northwest imperative.

In the states of the Northwest, where tolerance and citizenship is prized by the people, the relatively small numbers that have arrived

carrying the chaordic's malignancy has become a disturbing reality.³²

Dozens of interlocked organizations and hundreds of individuals have actually made the move in the last ten years. Notable relocations plotted in the four passes along the Montana-North Idaho state line portray what may be the cephalization of the threat chaordic. The best description of this mountainous area just south of the Canadian border is "rough terrain ... in an isolated border region between jurisdictions."³³

While Butler, who arrived in Hayden Lake, Idaho, in 1973, was suffering through his legal misfortunes in the mid 1980's, Pete Peters built up his congregation in Colorado and invested heavily in satellite broadcasting equipment. One congregation member, Randy Weaver, had a satellite dish at his rental house in Naples, Idaho, a thousand miles distance. Peters has had a "Summer Bible Camp" at Hungry Horse, Montana, every year since 1985. Hungry Horse is one of two possible meeting places where the Secret Service investigated courtroom disclosed allegations of a possible plot to assassinate President Clinton. 4 From a diary presented as evidence in a Detroit federal courtroom, the plotters from New York, Wyoming, and Idaho were to meet in July, 1994. Louis Beam was Peters' featured speaker there in 1995.

The brothers John and David Trochman and nephew Randy arrived at Noxon, Montana, with their Minnesota group about 1980.³⁵ They claim to have sold their snowmobile parts-making business, with 60 employees and millions invested, and moved to Montana. Locals boycotted the first cafe they had in Heron, Montana, because they thought it a center of white supremacist activity. Robert Fletcher came to Montana from Miami, after losing a 1990 bid for Congress against Florida Representative Bill McCollum,³⁶ Co-chairman of the Congressional Waco hearings. Fletcher invited himself to the Noxon, Montana, area in January, 1994, and serves

now as the chaordic's "investigative researcher" and occasional spokesman. Bo Gritz claims to have sold all of his development lots in his Christian covenant communities near Kamiah, Idaho, where he recently moved from Nevada. There he advocates that members of the chaordic "get off the grid." Louis Beam has moved to Sandpoint, Idaho, from Texas in 1995. His strategic view best articulates the entire chaordic's. His tactical view is that the aspiring Aryan Warrior needs to kill "common street niggers," federal agents and "rich Jews." Beam is activating his long dormant title, Ambassador at Large of the Church of Jesus Christ Aryan Nation. Nation.

8. This chaordic's unity of effort comes not from a rigid mission type order, but from the equivalent of a more flexible and effective "commander's intent." The Turner Diaries, in parable form, tells how The Organization destroyed The System. In it the liquor store owners robbed and killed for ready cash are Jewish; the clerks and delivery truck drivers, casually killed and discarded for the assets they tend are always blacks. When the "controlled" media focus on the mutilated corpse of some poor girl or F.B.I. agent in the wreckage of The Organization's bombings, rank and file member Earl Turner notes, "It is a terrible, terrible task we have before us."

"The corruption of our people by the Jewish-liberal-democratic-equalitarian plague which afflicts us is more clearly manifested in our soft-mindedness, our unwillingness to recognize the harder realities of life, than in anything else. Liberalism is an essentially feminine, submissive world view ... in which the lions lie down with the lambs and everyone lives happily ever after. Nor should spiritually healthy men of our race even want the world to be like that, if it could be so. That is an alien, essentially Oriental approach to life, the world view of slaves

rather than of free men of the West.' 41

This story is the diary of Earl Turner, martyred during the cataclysmic conflict that destroyed The System and created the New Era. In it are lessons on command structure, cellular organization, communication capability when the electricity grid is gone, counterfeiting, arms selection and safekeeping, manufacturing explosive devices and timers, target selection, procurement of crew served weapons, use of costume and disguise, contamination of significant targets using mortar launched radio active materials, corrupting public officials, infiltrating the hated "human relations councils," coordinating the activities of "legal" and "illegal" members, turning some white soldiers against The System to render their units "unreliable," and creating suspicion about National Guard Units in the minds of regular military commanders. Turner stresses the importance of first attacking The System directly, and then creating general unrest among Americans by destroying the electric, communication, and transportation systems.

The Day of the Rope in California is a grim and bloody day, "but an unavoidable one." Tens of thousands of race traitors are hung from lamp posts and street signs, wearing "I-defiled-my-race" placards. Dangling white women far outnumber the dangling men because **so** many are married to or living with Blacks, or Jews, or other non-white males. The overall numbers of dangling male bodies equal female when those wearing "I-betrayed-my-race" placards are added. These are the bodies of politicians, lawyers, businessmen, television newscasters, newspaper reporters and editors, judges, teachers, school officials, civic leaders, bureaucrats, preachers, and all others who for some reason helped The System implement its racial program. 42

The Organization modifies U.S. Air Force nuclear warheads procured

from the California "liberated zone," so that they can be detonated by coded radio signal, and disperses them around the United States. Every twelve hours a nuclear device detonates unless the President satisfies The Organization's demands. "We knew the fat was really in the fire; we were in the middle of a nuclear civil war, and within the next few days the fate of the planet would be settled for all time. Now it was either the Jews or the White race, and everyone knew the game was for keeps."⁴³

Earl Turner is killed on a suicide mission flying a nuclear warhead at the Pentagon to stop the issuance of an order for the planned invasion of the California "liberated zone." "What I do today will be of more weight in the annals of the race than all the conquests of Caesar and Napoleon--if I succeed!"

According to the Epilog, The Organization expanded its control from scattered enclaves of order and security amidst anarchy and savagery to liberation of Europe. A final chemical, biological, and radiological attack eliminated the remaining global power center: China, which Pierce calls "the yellow peril." "Thus was the Great Eastern Waste created."

9. The chaordic's transition to unorganized militias was not a spontaneous expression of popular will, but rather a transition to a new level of organization. "Unorganized" is a necessary qualifier that fits the leaderless resistance doctrine. More importantly "unorganized" fits a loophole in the Montana Constitution and statutes that classify militia into organized and unorganized. Constitutional drafters never dreamed the word "unorganized" would be used to organize. Again, the word is not the thing. In reality, unorganized militias are organized private armies, 46 recruitment pools and cover for more serious ongoing chaordic activity.

The transition began around the time of the Ruby Ridge standoff, when Beam began advocating this general type of organization. He had

previously organized the Texas Emergency Reserve, for the Ku Klux Klan to intimidate Vietnamese born fishermen on the Gulf Coast.

The State of Texas joined a class action suit against the Klan for violating the Texas law against unauthorized military organizations. The U.S. Federal District Court viewed hours of video showing Beam instructing uniformed personnel in psychological warfare, ambush and counterambush, reconnaissance patrols and other military movements. In 1982, the court concluded that the Texas Emergency Reserve was an arm of the Ku Klux Klan, and that it violated the law against private armies.

"... Louis Beam, in his individual capacity and as Grand Dragon of the Knights of the KKK for the state of Texas; and all others acting in concer ... are permanently enjoined from:

-Continuing to maintain or to associate themselves into private military or paramilitary companies or organizations, including, but not limited to, the Texas Emergency Reserve;

-Carrying on military or paramilitary training, including all forms of combat and combat-related training;

-Parading in public on land or water, with firearms in any city or town of the State of Texas; and

-Engaging in any other activities which have as their purpose or reasonably foreseeable effect the use or threatened use of military or paramilitary force to infringe upon the civil rights of the plaintiff class."⁴⁷

After a boost from Pete Peters' meeting of 150 "Christian" men in Estes Park, Colorado, in October, 1992, Beam's idea of a Weaver support organization took shape. This became the United Citizens for Justice based in Noxon, Montana, with Trochman and Gritz's speech writer, Chris Temple, of Polson, Montana, at its head.⁴⁸ It aimed first at recruiting more

mainstream types of members with any issue that might get more balanced persons to join. In 1994, United Citizens for Justice suddenly transitioned into the Militia of Montana, with John Trochman still at its head. Militia organizing packets and video cassettes, mailed from Noxon, Montana laid ground work for the pervasive militias that first dawned on the American public with the Oklahoma City bombing a year later. In 1994/95, there was particularly constant contact between the militias in Montana and Michigan,⁴⁹ with Mark Koernke of the Michigan Militia touring Montana Militia locations in December and Trochman appearing in Michigan. This continued the connection of ten years between Butler's warriors along the Montana-Idaho line and Miles' warriors in the Michigan triangle of Lansing, Ann Arbor, and Jackson.

10. This chaordic is recently increasing it tactical operations tempo in the state of Montana. Since so many of the nationally known members live in Idaho, the common misconception is that Idaho is where they agitate. In their book on future warfare, for example, the Tofflers caution readers to at least think about the consequences of Idaho's Neo-Nazis breaking that state and its nuclear weapons away from the rest of the United States." The leaders of the chaordic aren't fouling their own nest. Idaho has no warheads.

However, there are 250 nuclear warheads⁵¹ in central Montana. One of the five states of the proposed Aryan Nation has to be targeted first to fall.⁵² If "fissionable states" like the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia become the norm, a separate Aryan Nation even in a remote place like Montana poses serious global threat.

11. This chaordic supports itself financially from activities that contribute to its operational and strategic purposes. Generally this translates into activities at the edge of criminality. Which side of the

line depends usually on the laws of a given jurisdiction. Propaganda video tapes on fascism, for example, are legal in the United States, but contraband in Germany. Repackaged military manuals on everything from maintenance of machineguns and jeeps to sniper techniques and special operations doctrine are legal in Montana but not so in other places.⁵³ Mail order video and audio cassettes range from anti-government conspiracy theories and rambling pseudo-legal advice to packing an Alice Pack. Cassette technology in support of insurgency had telling effect against dictatorships in Iran and the Phillipines.⁵⁴ It remains to be seen how effective it will be against open democracies in America.

One noteworthy money making venture is the 200 page MOD.

Trainina Manual. At \$75 a copy, it is one of the costliest items in the Militia of Montana's extensive catalog of video tapes, audio tapes and literature. No expert on the chaordic knows what M.O.D. means. The Trochmans say they don't know who wrote the manual. MO.D. directs:

- -a campaign of terrorism by urban guerrillas executed with utmost coldbloodedness:
- -coordinated sabotage of government, industry, transport, communications, military and police systems;
- -recruitment of industrial workers, because they know these systems better than the layman;
 - -destruction of firms and properties owned by foreign nationals;
- -conducting a "war of nerves" with authorities consisting of false reports and deceptions purposefully placed in the hands of authorities;
 - -raiding armories to obtain arms, ammunition, and explosives;
- -kidnapping well known personalities who have no known political interest for the propaganda that comes with public sympathy;
 - -developing weather forecasting, sniper, ambush, survival, booby

trap, night vision device, hand grenade, and other ordnance skills;

-keeping militia activities and the M.O.D. manual itself secret from family members, unless they are cleared by the cell leader for actual recruitment.⁵⁵

The emotional and mental attitude conditioned to receive these kinds of instructions, and those in <u>The Turner Diaries</u>that Tim McVeigh sold at gun shows⁵⁶ has been developing for a long time. <u>Warrior Dreams:</u> <u>Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America</u> is one sociological survey that shows the influences that are shaping the "New War" mentality of the chaordic's recruitment and marketing **pool.**⁵⁷

There is a huge trade among chaordic members in weapons, ammunition, NBC protective suits, Nazi paraphernalia and support gear ranging from sniper scopes to night vision devices. Randy Weaver's financial agreement with an undercover agent to saw off the barrels of shotguns for inner city skinheads, was thoroughly discussed on CSPAN. Gritz and his associates publicly exchange the high quality training they got from our government for gold. There is common overlap into drug trafficking. Cocaine cartel member, Carlos Ledher, is an avowed Neo-Nazi.⁵⁸ The bubonic plague virus confiscated from a Neo-Nazi lab technician in Columbus, Ohio, would command a good price in this market.⁵⁹

Gold warehousing and property shell schemes are handy for hiding money from illegal transactions. The U.S. portion of the chaordic is still amateurish compared to mideastern groups, who have profited from laundering services for less adept personalities like Noriega and his chaordic associates in North and South America. 60 Now the Russian Mafyia is outpacing even B.C.C.I. as a money laundering standard setter?

12. This chaordic is an ethnic nationalism comparable to the

Serbians'62 in that it recognizes no civic nation's boundaries. The wife of West German national, Manfred Roeder, received honors on his behalf from

movement.63

weapons Mafyia, and selling weapons to Serbians for use against Bosnians.⁶⁹ The Russian Mafyia in New York have organized "combat brigades" to collect tribute from legitimate business worldwide.⁷⁰ The concept tracks Vladimir Zhirinovsky's notion of paramilitary guard formations, organized into "agitation and propaganda groups" and "protection-assault groups" for street operations.⁷¹ In April, 1995, John Trochman in Montana highlighted the Russian ultranationalist's apocolyptic views about the United States. Referring to a Los Anaeles Times article, he said, Zhirinovsky is "simply letting the cat out of the bag."

13. The chaordic shares legal counsel. Joe Holland, of Booneville, Indiana, self proclaimed leader of the North American Militia group that had several armed confrontations with law enforcement in Darby, Montana, hired the same attorney as John Trochman.⁷³ Trochman had earlier referred to the Darby group as a "bunch of ding dongs."

Trochman and six heavily armed men with \$60,000 in gold was arrested by county law enforcement officers in Eastern Montana.⁷⁴

Trochman pleaded that they had driven 400 miles to Roundup, Montana "to file papers" for a freeman with whom he earlier claimed no connection.

The Montana Attorney General dropped charges for lack of sufficient evidence that the group intended to hang a district court judge.

Montana tax protester Gordon Sellner, wounded during arrest for earlier shooting a sheriff's deputy, also has Trochman's attorney.⁷⁵ The commonly shared legal counsel is John Decamp, from Gary Rex Lauck's hometown, Lincoln, Nebraska. Decamp will only say that he is being paid by "supporters.⁷⁶

14. This chaordic knows the importance of the electricity grid.

Gritz's admonition to "get off the grid" speaks for itself. The region wide

alert from the core of engineers that twenty men had left Medford, Oregon, for Montana to attack the electric power system was no drill.⁷⁷ This was to be in protest of the Trochman group's arrest in Roundup, Montana. At least two other power outages have been investigated by the FBI in Western Montana.⁷⁸ The specific victims of the extended outages in those cases were the Blackfeet Indians, isolated at the end of the line. Several sets of plans associated with the electricity system were found in the possession of Order members years earlier. In South Africa, there is frequent talk by white supremacists of forcing an electricity outage to trap thousands of black miners underground.⁷⁹ All this added to the MOD.

Training Manual directives heightens the likelihood of an effective attack on this nation's electricity infrastructure.

15. This chaordic uses technology well. It narrowcasts a variety of message formats over shortwave radio. Selling the receivers is a source of funds to still other members of the chaordic. The Internet is a natural ally. Cyberspace is "characterized by no geographic, national or temporal boundaries and no ownership, laws, or identity cards, Selling Temporal Austrian Neo-Nazi use the encryption software Pretty Good Privacy to encode Internet communications. U.S. members of the chaordic probably use it for important communications. In 1984, Beam originated the chaordic's first widespread use of computerized communication. He operates in cyberspace in a variety of guises.

Since the chaordic can reach into the mind and heart of anyone, it's safe to assume that any technical or communications system is open to the chaordic. A lesson in this regard is the testimony of the AT.F. about Ruby Ridge in front of the U.S. Senate. The AT.F. undercover agent working inside of the Church of Jesus Christ Aryan Nation Compound at Hayden Lake, Idaho, knew he was compromised. The security guard there informed

him that the license plate on his car did not match his Vehicle Identification Number (VIN). This means that the chaordic is using the Law Enforcement Teletype system for its own security purposes. Information compartmentalization eventually will only hamper friendly users.

16. Fear, paranoia, narcissistic rage projected to others, and distrust are prevalent psychological traits in this chaordic. The chaordic preys on and recruits people who feel they are victims and potential victims of some other vague force or evil.⁸³ Instead of taking responsibility and addressing their own problems, members consistently place the blame somewhere else. Beneath the blame and hate is fear and distrust of anything unfamiliar. More than anything else, guns symbolize the individuals' fear and need for control, often over just a bad sex life.⁸⁴

Warrior Dreams underscores the obvious. People have guns, because they are afraid. "The paramilitary warrior lives inside ... concentric rings of power."

At the outer ring of his knife arm, he needs a pistol. At maximum pistol range he needs a rifle. At maximum rifle range he needs a long gun. Ironically, even if he's a risk taker, the knife and the gun can't protect him against that which he fears most: the changes that have made him feel weak, denigrated and helpless.

The chaordic's aspiring leaders manipulate the fear and rage of others as selfish power seekers always do, arranging reality to salve their own injured self-esteem and serve their narcissistic selves.⁸⁷ Fear and paranoia are strong organizing tools. Distrust and paranoia are severe challenges that slow the chaordic's gains to the imperceptible crawl.

17. The final characteristic of this chaordic is cunning. "Cunning is the use of a trick or strategem that permits the intended victim to make his own mistakes, which combined in a single result, suddenly change the nature of the situation before his very eyes." Television viewers

watching the CSPAN performance of Randy Weaver should pay close heed to his neighbor who said, "This is as though he planned to have this happen." Similarly, Louis Beam's active presence around the Waco compound at the time of the standoff, and effective trumpeting of his version of what happened, seem a clear lesson in cunning.

The actions of federal law enforcement authorities at both Waco and Ruby Ridge has been turned to powerful effect against the primary domestic security battlesystems of our nation. With the use of cunning and semantic devices like "patriot," "Christian," and "militia," our congressional leaders were drawn into furthering the cause of sworn and armed enemies. This chaordic used cunning well.

The Broader Picture

This chaordic roams most of battlespace at will, and has a strategic objective beyond just the overthrow of our national government. This threat exhibits none of the political, moral or practical constraints that keep most terrorist groups from causing massive destruction. There are striking parallels between this chaordic and religiously motivated Islamic extremists in the Middle East and even the Aum Shinrikyo. Larger purpose, delusionary or not, places terrorist acts by members of this chaordic under the heading of superterrorism. Whether by loosing a weapon of mass destruction, attacking the electricity network, conducting disinformation campaigns against prominent personalities, or continuing to discredit the government portion of this nation's Clauswitzian trinity, this chaordic threatens us strategically. We need to learn from it and adapt our battlesystems to real battlespace.

The World Ministerial Conference on Organized Transnational Crime, convened by the United Nations, and held in Naples, in November, 1994, produced a Global Action Plan Against Organized Transnational Crime. "To

effectively combat organized crime, States should take its structural characteristics and modus operandi into account: group organization to commit crime; hierarchical links or personal relationships which permit leaders to control the group; violence, intimidation and corruption to earn profits or control territories or markets; laundering of illicit proceeds both in furtherance of criminal activity and to infiltrate the legitimate economy; potential expansion into new activities and beyond national borders; and cooperation with other organized transnational criminal groups." Right now the chaordic form of organization is faster than the international community's cumbersome law enforcement and military hierarchies.⁹¹

Conclusion

Battlespace, like knowledge, may be a sphere. The larger the sphere, the greater the ratio of knowing volume to ignorant surface. Our challenge is to apply the relatively gaining knowledge against still increasing ignorance. That requires free and open internal flows of spiritual, emotional, rational, social, and cultural information about what we do know. The battlesystems that possess part of the necessary knowledge, range across cultures from school houses to families, from prisons to wilderness programs, from military staffs to community councils. The minds that best see and convey patterns in chaos are artistic. As commanders sense culminating points in battle or painters capture clouds, poets and singers convey what we all share.

In <u>Future Shock</u>, Alvin Toffler, says that "black extremists and white vigilantes both employ violence to narrow their choices and clarify their lives." They are already victims of information overload. More information alone is not the solution. For those who lack an intelligent, comprehensive program for coping with the complexities of change,

terrorism substitutes for thought.94

Unless we aid each other to cope with local environments that are bound to change, and retain a clear set of values and priorities in spite of difficulty, we become part of the problem. Our adaptive difficulties and those of our children deepen, and together we widen the recruitment pool for the chaordic threat. Nation-states' inability to deal with results of political, economic, and social instability in the face of change is a "foundational strategic reality." ⁹⁵

We need to synergize our ability to analyze vastly increasing information flows on everything from money laundering to electricity transmission. We need to distribute our resources by including "on location" analysts who consider a wider range of information about context. The repeated low keyed successes of local authorities in Montana, have shown that patience, firmness, and caring support from communities work well to deflate the chaordic. Its abundantly clear that real counterterror experts are unsung, home grown, networked, and violent only as an absolute last resort. National authorities, including experts, must communicate with citizens near an incident before taking action that may just feed a growing cycle of unnecessary violence. 97

As there is a difference between information and intelligence, there is a difference between knowledge and understanding. Tolerance, communication, education, faith, hope and love are the processes that convert knowledge to understanding. Security battlesystems want to bring stability but must be prepared to use understanding as well as force. Preventive strategies may be as important as response strategies to violence⁹⁸ to ultimately defeat a chaordic threat.

NOTES

- Joint Chiefs Of Staff, Doctrine for Joint Ouerations, Joint Publication 3.0. (Washington: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1 February, 1995), III-20.
- Earnest R May, "Who Are We?" Foreign Affairs 73, no. 2 (March/April, 1994), 135.
- Dee W. Hock, "The Chaordic Organization, Out of Control and into Order," World Business Academy Perspectives 9, no.1 (1995): 6. James Gleick, Chaos, Making a New Science (New York Penguin, 1987), 5-48.
- Michael Howard, Clausewitz (New York Oxford University Press, 1983), 33 & 35.
- Harry G. Summers, Jr., On Strategy: The Vietnam War In Context (Carlisle: US Army War College, 1981),
- Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, The Phenomenon of Man (New York Harper and Brothers, 1959), 14.
- TRADOC, Force XXI Ouerations: A Concept for the Evolution of Full Dimensional Operations for the Strategic Army of the Early Twenty-First Century, Pamphlet 525-5 (Washington: U.S. Army Chief of Staff, 1994), Glossary-1.
- Department of the Army, Decisive Force: The Army in Theater Ouerations, Field Manual 100-7 (Washington: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 1995), 8-6.
- John H. Cushman, Thoughts for Joint Commanders (Annapolis: John H. Cushman, 1993), 9.
- Carl Von Clausewitz, On War, trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 593,
- Peter C. Sederberg, Terrorist Myths: Illusion. Rhetoric and Reality (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989), 9. 12
- Edward T. Hall, Bevond Culture (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1976), 107.
- Meeting of Pikuni-Siksika native speakers, Chaired by Floyd "Tinyman" Heavyrunner, Jr., leader of the Pikuni Brave Dog Society, Browning, Montana, December 16,1993. Richard M. Pearlstein, The Mind of the Political Terrorist (Wilmington: SR **Books**, 1991), 15-28.
- Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York Random House, 1970), 319.
- ¹⁷ Vincent Bugliosi and Curt Gentry, Helter Skelter: The True Stow of the Manson Murders (New York W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), 482-483.
- Ibid. 484-485.
- Philip Jenkins, "Fifty Years of Home Grown Terror," American Heritage, (September, 1995), 38-46. "For a sense of continuity of the terrorist tradition in America, consider this actual sequence of events: The FBI smashes a dead serious plot to overthrow the federal government and reveals that for more than a year the right-wing militias involved were undergoing army style training, fired up by inflammatory talk radio. They planned to use their bombs, rifles, and machine guns to wage guerrilla warfare on American cities, and they claimed friends and allies in government and the military. They aimed, in one reporter's words, to bomb selected buildings, seize public utilities, blast bridges, terrorize Jews, appropriate Federal Reserve gold, assassinate fourteen Congressmen, and set up a dictatorship. The goal: to remove all liberal and anti-Christian forces from government not the least the liberal President and his activist wife. This happened in January, 1940."
- Tore Bjorgo, "Introduction, Terror From the Extreme Right", <u>Terrorism and Political Violence</u> 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1995), 7. "Kaplan, in his discussion of US racist groups' theory of ZOG, argues that many on the violent fringes of the movement no longer distinguish between the government and "the other".
- Bruce Pierce, "Inside the **Hate** Conspiracy, America's Terrorists", ABC Television, (October 5,1995). Pierce is serving 200 years in Federal Prison for conspiracy, racketeering, and violating the civil rights of assassinated talk show host, Alan Berg.
- Jeffrey Kaplan, "Right Wing Violence in North America", Terrorism and Political Violence 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1995), 47 - 48.
- Report from the Sacred Weapons and Tactics (S.W.A.T.) Committee, Final Reuort of Meeting of Christian Men Held at Estes Park. Colorado. October 23-25, 1992, Concerning The Killing of Vickie and Samuel Weaver by the United States Government, (LaPorte: Scriptures for America Ministries), 17-18; Louis Beam's Tract "Leaderless Resistance" is attached.
- Kaplan, page 54.
 - Report from the Divine Ways and Means Committee, Final Reuort of Meeting of Christian Men Held in Estes Park, Colorado, October 23-25, 1992., pp.12-13.
- Held manual 100-20/Air Force Pamphlet 3-20 Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict, (Washington: Headquarters Departments of the Army and Air Force), 2-2.

²⁷ Jacques Delarue, <u>The Gestapo: A History of Horror</u>, trans. by Mervyn Savill (New York William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1964).

Department of the Army, <u>Doctrine for Special Forces Operations</u>, Field Manual **31-20** (Washington: Headquarters, Department the Army), **9-3**.

"Faces of Violence: Lobbyists, Politicians and Haters: Guns Are The Tie That Binds," Rolling Stone, (June 15, 1995), 64.

³⁰ Julie Forster, "Gritz, Others Show Support for Beckman," Billings Gazette, January 31, 1994, p. 1.

Patrick Dillon, "Apocalyptic Overture: Going Off The Grid With Manhattan's Militia," Village Voice, New York, October 17, 1995, pp. 32 -35.

Northwest Coalition for Human Dignity and Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, <u>The Northwest Imperative</u> (Portland: 1995).

- George R Stotser, "Concepts of Guemlla Warfare and Insurgent War," Military Strategy, Theory and Auulication. ed. by Col. Arthur F. Lykke, Jr. (Carlisle Barracks: US Army War College, 1993), 194.
- Norman Sinclair, The Detroit News Service, "Secret Service Probing Possible Plot to Murder President Clinton," The Missoulian, May 22, 1994.
- 35 "Who Are These Guys? Where Are They From?," The Missoulian, April 2,1995.
- Michael Kelly, "The Road to Paranoia," The New Yorker, (June 19, 1995), 60 & 72.
- Associated Press, "Christian Community Won't Pose Any Danger, Gritz Says," The Missoulian, May 25, 1994, p. B-3.
- Patricia Sullivan, "Militia Leaders Firmly Believe Hearings Helped," The Missoulian, July 5, 1995, p. A8.

³⁹ "Faces of Violence...", p. 63.

- Brad Knickerbocker, "Why 1992 Shooting in Idaho Has Become a Rallying Point," Christian Science Monitor, September 5, 1995, p. 18.
- Pierce, William, writing **as** Andrew Macdonald, <u>The Turner Diaries</u> (Washington: National Alliance, 1978), 42. <u>Rollling Stone</u> says that over **200,000** copies are in circulation. William Pierce **has** stated that his later **book**, **Harter**, **has** more potential for destruction.
- 42 Ibid. 160-162.
- ⁴³ Ibid. 181-182.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid. **202.**
- 45 Ibid. 210.
- Colonel William P. Boswell and Colonel Richard D. Roth, "The Armies and the Militia: A Legal Status Overview," <u>Reserve Officer's Association Security Report</u>, (September, 1995), 32.
- Mark Pitcavage and Sheldon Sheps, "Militia: History and Law FAQ," The Militia Watchdog, World Wide Web, January, 1996.
- Marc Cooper, "Patriot Games," The Missoula Indeuendent, April 27, 1995, p. 9.
- David McHugh, Knight Ridder News Service, "Far-Right Militia Movement Leader Takes on Many Threats," San Jose Mercury News Online, February 25,1995, p. 5.
- Alvin and Heidi Toffler, War and Antiwar: Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century (Boston: Little Brown, 1993), Footnote **264**.
- Associated Press, "U.S. Nuclear Weapons Stockpile Condensed Into 9 Fewer States," <u>The Patriot</u>, October 13, 1995.
- Richard Peterson, "Former Supremacist Says Racists Creating Montana Stronghold," <u>Great Falls Tribune</u>, October **8.1993**.
- Kathy Wilhelm, "American Sentenced to Prison in Vietnam," Patriot News, January 28,1996, A14.
- Fumio Kodama, Analyzing Jauanese High Technologies: The Techno Paradigm Shift (London: Pinter Publishers, 1991), 173-174.
- Keith Schneider, "Manual for Terrorists Extols Greatest Coldbloodedness," The New York Times, April 29, 1995.
- John Kifner, "Unraveling of a Frayed Life: McVeigh's Mind, A Special Report," The New York Times, December 31.1995, p. 1.
- James William Gibson, <u>Warrior Dreams</u>: Violence and <u>Manhd</u> in Post-Vietnam America (New York: Hill and wang, 1994).
- ⁵⁸ Chicago Tribune, February 6, 1987, 12.
- James Kitfield. "The Age of Superterrorism." Government Executive, (July, 1995), B. 14.

Mark Potts, Nicholas Kochan and Robert Whittington, Dirty Money. BCCI The Inside Story of the World's Sleaziest Bank (Washington: National Press Books, 1992).

a Robert I. Friedman, "The Money Plane," New York, January 22, 1996, 24-33.

- ⁶² Michael Ignatieff, <u>Blood and Belonging: Journeys Into The New Nationalism</u> (New York 1994).
- Michael Schmidt, The New Reich: Violent Extremism in Unified Germany and Beyond, trans. by Daniel Horch (New York Pantheon Books, 1993), 207.

Associated Press," Interview with Danny Welch, Director of Klanwatch," April 2,1995.

Schmidt, 23,172 & 222-230.

James H. Anderson, "The Nec-Nazi Menace in Germany," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 18, no. 1 (1995), 41.

Kelly, 67-68.

- Danie I Voll, "At Home With M.O.M...", Esquire, (July, 1995), 48.
- Frank Viviano, 'The New Mafia Order." Mother Jones 20, no.3 (May/June, 1995), 44.

Friedman, 24-33.

- Jacob W. Kipp, "The Zhirinovsky Threat," Foreign Affairs 73, no. 3 (May/June, 1994), 82.
- Patricia Sullivan, "Militia of Montana Not Freemen, Organizers Say," The Missoulian, April 2, 1995.
- Ruth Thorning, "Holland Pleads Guilty, Vows to Challenge State's Syndicalism Law," The Ravalli Republic, December 8,1995.
- The Associated Press, "Mazurek Fears Anti-Government Groups Uniting," The Great Falls Tribune, March 7,
- Patricia Sullivan, "Swan Valley Residents React to Shooting," The Missoulian, July 20, 1995.

Ruth Thorning, "Holland Pleads Not Guilty," The Ravalli Republic, July 5, 1995.

Associated Press, "Threats to Power Grid Revealed: Alert Occurred Six Weeks Before the Oklahoma City Bombing," Idaho Spokesman Review, April 29, 1995.

⁷⁸ "Vandals leave 2500 GEC Customers Without Power," <u>The Glacier Reporter</u>, September 16,1993.

- David Welsh, "Right Wing Terrorism in South Africa," Terrorism And Political Violence 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1995), 257-258.
- Pitcavage: Saturdays, 15420khz @ 12:30 PM EST; 7355khz A 900 PM EST; 5065khz @ 600 PM EST; Sundays, 7355khz @ 8:30 PM EST; Monday through Friday, 3315khz @ 11:00 PM EST;
- Robert J. Bunker, "Information Warfare Conference," Military Review, (Ft. Leavenworth, August, 1995), 102.
- Institute for National Strategic Studies, Strategic Assessment 1995: U.S. Security Challenges in Transition, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995), 158.
- Pearlstein, 132 Interview with Order member Tom Martinez about others in the Klan, National Alliance and The Order.
- 84 Gibson, 63.
- 85 Ibid, 87.
- David E. Long, The Anatomy of Terrorism (New York The Free Press, 1990), 18.
- Pearlstein, 9 & 36.
- Carl von Clausewitz, 202.
- Dr. Bruce Hoffman, "American Right-Wing Extremism," Jane's Intelligence Review 7, no. 7 (July, 1995), 330.
- "Naples Political Declaration and Global Action Plan Against Organized Transnational Crime," Transnational Organized Crime, A Frank Cass Journal 1, no. 1, (London, 1995), 121.
- Raphael F. Perl, "United States Foreign Narcopolicy: Shifting Focus to International Crime?," Transnational Organized Crime. A Frank Cass Journal 1, no. 1, (London, 1995), 41 & 45.
- Stephen J. Gould, Ever Since Darwin: Reflections In Natural History (New York: Norton, 1977), 177 & 198.
- Gleick, 186.
- Toffler, 322.
- Max G. Manwaring, "Beyond the Cold War: Toward a Theory of Engagement to Confront the Gray Area Phenomenon," Grav Area Phenomenon: Confronting the New World Disorder, ed. by Max Manwaring (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 74.
- Ibid, 54 & 93. Scott B. MacDonald, "The New "Bad Guys": Exploring the Parameters of the Violent New World Order;" Bruce Zagaris, "Constructing a Financial Enforcement Regime to Reallocate Assets from the "Bad Guys" to the "Good Guys."
- William Lee Colwell, "Concluding Observations," Terrorist Dynamics: A Geographical Perspective, ed. by Vittorfranco S. Pisano (Arlington: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1988), 186-189.

Panel on the Understanding and Control of Violent Behavior, <u>Understanding and Preventing Violence</u>, ed. by Albert Reiss, Jr., and Jeffrey Roth (Washington: National Academy Press, 1993), 6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, James H. "The Neo-Nazi Menace in Germany." <u>Studies in Conflict and Terrorism</u> 18, no. 1 (1995): 41.
- Associated Press. "Christian Community Won't Pose Any Danger, Gritz Says." The Missoulian (MT), 25 May, 1994, p. B-3.
- Associated Press. "Interview with Danny Welch, Director of Klanwatch. 2 April 1995.
- Associated Press. "Mazurek Fears Anti-Government Groups Uniting." <u>The Great Falls (MT) Tribune</u>, 7 March 1995.
- Associated Press. "Threats to Power Grid Revealed: Alert Occurred Six Weeks Before the Oklahoma City Bombing." (The Couer D'Alene) Idaho Spokesman Review, 29 April 1995.
- Associated Press. "U.S. Nucledar Weapons Stockpile Condensed Into 9 Fewer States." The (Harrisbura. PA) Patriot News, 13 October 1995.
- Bjorgo, Tore. "Introduction, Terror From the Extreme Right." <u>Terrorism</u> and <u>Political Violence</u> 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1995): 7.
- Boswell, Col. William and Col. Richard D. Roth. "The Armies and the Militia: A Legal Status Overview." Reserve Officer's Association Security Report. (September, 1995): 32.
- Bugliosi, Vincent, and Curt Gentry. <u>Helter Skelter: The True Story of the Manson Murders</u>. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974.
- Bunker, Robert J. "Information Warfare Conference." <u>Military Review</u>. (August 1995): 102.
- Chardin, Teilhard De. <u>The Phenomenon of Man</u>. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.
- Chicago Tribune, 6 February 1987, p. 12.
- Clausewitz, Carl Von. On War. Translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Colwell, William Lee. "Concluding Observations." Terrorist Dynamics: A

- <u>Geographical Persoective</u>. Edited by Vitgtorfranco S. Pisano. Arlington: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1988.
- Cooper, Marc. "Patriot Games." <u>The Missoula (MT) Independent</u>, 27 April 1995, p. 9.
- Cushman, John H. <u>Thouahts for Joint Commanders</u>. Annapolis: John H. Cushman, 1993.
- Delarue, Jacques. <u>The Gestaoo: A History of Horror</u>. Translated by Mervyn Savill. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1964.
- Department of the Army. <u>Decisive Force: The Army in Theater Operations.</u> <u>Field Manual 100-7</u>. Washington: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 1995.
- Department of the Army. <u>Doctrine for Special Forces Operations. Field</u>
 <u>Manual 31-20</u>. Washington: Headquarters Department of the Army.
- Departments of the Army and Air Force. <u>Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict, Field Manual 100-20/Air Force Pamphlet 3-20.</u>
 Washington: Headquarters of the Departments of the Army and Air Force.
- Dillon, Patrick. "Apocalyptic Overture: Going Off The Grid With Manhattan's Militia." The (NYC) Village Voice, 17 October 1995, pp. 32-35.
- Divine Ways and Means Committee. Final Recort of Meeting of Christian

 Men Held at Estes Park, Colorado, October 23-25, 1992, Concerning

 The Killing of Vickie and Samuel Weaver by the United States

 Government. LaPorte: Scriptures for America Ministries.
- Forster, Julie. "Gritz, Others Show Support for Beckman." The Billings (MT)Gazette, 31 January 1994, p. 1.
- Friedman, Robert I. "The Money Plane." New York. (22 January, 1996): 24-33.
- Gibson, James William. <u>Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America</u>. New York: Hill and Wang, 1994.
- The (Browning, MT) Glacier Reporter. "Vandals Leave 2,500 GEC

- Customers Without Power." 16 September 1993.
- Gleick, James. Chaos. Making a New Science. Washington: Penguin, 1987.
- Gould, Stephen J. <u>Ever Since Darwin: Reflections In Natural History</u>. New York: Norton, 1977.
- Hall, Edward T. Bevond Culture. Garden City: Anchor Press, 1976.
- Hock, Dee W. "The Chaordic Organization, Out of Control and into Order." World Business Academy Perspectives 9, no. 1 (1995): 6.
- Hoffman, Dr. Bruce. "American Right-Wing Extremism." <u>Jane's Intelliaence Review</u> 7, no. 7 (July, 1995): 330.
- Howard, Michael. Clausewitz. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Ignatieff, Michael. <u>Blood and Belonging: Journevs Into The New Nationalism</u>. New York: 1994.
- Institute for National Strategic Studies. <u>Strateaic Assessment 1995: U.S. Security Challenges in Transition</u>. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995.
- Jenkins, Phillip. "Fifty Years of Home Grown Terror." <u>American Heritaae</u>. (1995): 38-46.
- Kaplan, Jeffrey. "Right Wing Violence in North America." <u>Terrorism and Political Violence</u> 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1995): 47-48.
- Kelly, Michael. "The Road to Paranoia." The New Yorker, 19 June 1995.
- Kifner, John. "Unraveling of a Frayed Life: McVeigh's Mind, A Special Report." The New York Times, 31 December 1995, p. 1.
- Kitfield, James. "The Age of Superterrorism." Government Executive (July, 1995), B. 14.
- Kipp, Jacob W. "The Zhirinovsky Threat." <u>Foreian Affairs</u> 73, no. 3 (May/June, 1994): 82.
- Knickerbocker, Brad. "Why 1992 Shooting in Idaho Has Become a Rallying

- Point." Christian Science Monitor, 5 September 1995, p. 18.
- Kodama, Fumio. <u>Analyzing Japanese High Technoloaies: The Techno</u> <u>Paradiam Shift</u>. London: Pinter Publishers, 1991.
- Long, David. The Anatomy of Terrorism. New York The Free Press, 1990.
- Manwaring, Max G. "Beyond the Cold War: Toward a Theory of Engagement to Confront the Gray Area Phenomenon." Gray Area Phenomenon:

 Confrontina the New World Disorder. Edited by Max Manwaring.

 Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.
- May, Earnest R. "Who Are We?" Foreign Affairs 73, no. 2 (1994): 135.
- MacDonald, Scott B. "The New "Bad Guys:" Exploring the Parameters of the Violent New World Order." Grav Area Phenomenon: Confronting the New World Disorder. Edited by Max Manwaring. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.
- McHugh, David. "Far-Right Militia Movement Leader Takes on Many Threats." San Jose Mercury News Online, 25 February, 1995, p. 5.
- The Missoulian (MT). "Who Are These Guys? Where Are They From?" 2 April 1995.
- Northwest Coalition for Human Dignity and Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment. <u>The Northwest Imperative</u>. Portland: 1995.
- Panel on the Understanding and Control of Violent Behavior. <u>Understanding and Preventina Violence</u>. Edited by Albert Reiss, Jr., and Jeffrey Roth. Arlington: National Academy Press, 1993.
- Pearlstein, Richard M. <u>The Mind of the Political Terrorist</u>. Wilmington: SR Books, 1991.
- Perl, Raphael F. "United States foreign Narcopolicy: Shifting Focus to International Crime?" <u>Transnational Organized Crime. A Frank Cass</u> <u>Journal</u> 1, no. 1 (London, 1995): 41.
- Peterson, Richard. "Former Supremacist Says Racists Creating Montana Stronghold." The Great Falls (MT) Tribune, 8 October 1993.

- Pierce, Bruce. "Inside the Hate Conspiracy, America's Terrorists."

 Interviewed in prison by ABC Television. ABC Television, 5 October 1995.
- Pierce, William. <u>The Turner Diaries</u>. Written under penname Andrew Macdonald. Washington: National Alliance, 1978.
- Pikuni-Siksika Native Speakers. Meeting chaired by Floyd "Tinyman" Heavyrunner, Jr., 16 December 1993, Browning, MT.
- Pitcavage, Mark and Sheldon Sheps. "Militia: History and Law FAQ." <u>The Militia Watchdog</u>. World Wide Web: January, 1995.
- Potts, Mark, Nicholas Kochan and Robert Whittington. <u>Dirtv Monev. BCCl:</u>
 <u>The Inside Story of the World's Sleaziest Bank.</u> Washington:
 National Press Books, 1992.
- Rollina Stone. "Faces of Violence: Lobbyists, Politicians and Haters: Guns Are The Tie That Binds." (June 15, 1995): 64.
- Sacred Weapons and Tactics (S.W.A.T.) Committee. <u>Final Report of Meeting of Christian Men Held at Estes Park, Colorado. October 23-25. 1992.</u>

 <u>Concernina The Killina of Vickie and Samuel Weaver by the United States Government.</u> LaPorte: Scriptures for America Ministries.
- Schmidt, Michael. The New Reich: Violent Extremism in Unified Germanv and Bevond. Translated by Daniel Horch. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.
- Schneider, Keith. "Manual for Terrorists Extols Greatest Coldbloddedness." <u>The New York Times</u>, 29 April 1995.
- Sederberg, Peter C. <u>Terrorist Mvths: Illusion. Rhetoric and Realitv.</u> Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989.
- Sinclair, Norman. "Secret Service Probing Possibled Plot to Murder President Clinton." <u>The Missoulian (MT)</u>, 22 May 1994.
- Stotser, George R. "Concepts of Guerrilla Warfare and Insurgent War."

 <u>Military Strateav. Theory and Application</u>. Edited by Col. Arthur F. Lykke, Jr. Carlisle Barracks: U.S. Army War College, 1993.

- Sullivan, Patricia. "Militia Leaders Firmly Believe Hearings Helped." <u>The Missoulian (MT)</u>, **5** July **1995**, **p.** A-8.
- Sullivan, Patricia. "Militia of Montana Not Freemen, Organizers Say." The Missoulian (MT), 2 April 1995.
- Sullivan, Patricia. "Swan Valley Residents React to Shooting." <u>The Missoulian (MT)</u>, 20 July **1995.**
- Summers, Harry G. On Strategy: The Vietnam War In Context. Carlisle: U.S. Army War College, 1981.
- Thorning, Ruth. "Holland Pleads Guilty, Vows to Challenge State's Syndicalism Law." The (Hamilton. MT) Ravalli Republic, 8 December 1995.
- Thorning, Ruth. "Holland Pleads Not Guilty." <u>The (Hamilton, MT) Ravalli Republic</u>, **5** July **1995**.
- Toffler, Alvin. Future Shock. New York: Random House, 1970
- Toffler, Alvin and Heidi Toffler. <u>War and Antiwar: Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century</u>. Boston: Little Brown, **1993.**
- TRADOC. <u>Force XXI ODerations</u>: A Concept for the Evolution of Full <u>Dimensional Operations for the Strateaic Army of the Early Twenty-First Century</u>. <u>Pamphlet 525-5</u>. Washington: U.S. Army Chief of Staff, **1994**.
- <u>Transnational Oraanized Crime. A Frank Cass Journal</u> 1, no. 1 (London, 1995). "Naples Political Declaration and global Action Plan Against Organized Transnational Crime."
- U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. <u>Doctrine for Joint Operations</u>. Washington: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. **1995**.
- Viviano, Frank. "The New Mafia Order." <u>Mother Jones</u> 20, no. 3 (May/June, 1995): 44.
- Voll, Daniel. "At Home With M.O.M." Esauire. (July, 1995): 48.
- Welsh, David. "Right Wing Terrorism in South Africa." Terrorism and

- Political Violence 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1995): 257.
- Wilhelm, Kathy. "American Sentenced to Prison in Vietnam." The Harrisbura Patriot News, 28 January, 1996, p. A-I4.
- Zagaris, Bruce. "Constructing a Financial Enforcement Regime to Reallocate Assets from the "Bad Guys" to the "Good Guys." <u>Grav Area Phenomenon: Confrontina the New World Disorder</u>. Edited by Max Manwaring. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.

STATEMENT



February 15, 2021

Dear Chairman Usher and Members of the House Judiciary Committee:

The Montana Human Rights Network opposes House Joint Resolution 11 on behalf of our 8,000 members and supporters across the state. The Montana Legislature only meets a few months every other year with a large agenda. It's unfortunate that the committee has been brought a resolution that's part of an urban legend promoted by Far-Right activists. The preoccupation with the supposed dangers posed by Antifa is so common in right-wing circles that we've dubbed it the "Antifa Fantasy."

We saw an example of the Antifa Fantasy play out in Montana last summer. In June 2020, current Public Service Commissioner and former state Senator Jennifer Fielder posted on social media that a caravan of Antifa was on its way to Missoula to wreak havoc in the community during local protests against police violence (see attached MHRN article). This set off a firestorm on social media, which resulted in unaccountable paramilitary militia groups showing up at these anti-racist protests. When the Antifa forces never showed, militia activists claimed credit for scaring them off. The reality was the caravan never existed, which was confirmed by multiple law enforcement and media sources.

This Antifa Fantasy played out all over the country, where Far-Right activists acted like Antifa was going to invade their communities by land, air, and sea (see attached Buzzfeed article). The Fantasy was nothing but paranoid hysteria meant to drive a Far-Right narrative. Security and intelligence organizations have not documented any Antifa structure or leadership. Antifa is much more of an idea that is sometimes referenced by activists rather than an actual organization.

While the Far Right promotes the notion of a violent Left, there is no debate that the real threat to our communities comes from right-wing extremism. According to the Department of Homeland Security and FBI, white nationalism is the greatest domestic threat to the country (see attached New York Times articles). We all watched this threat become a reality when the violent right-wing mob attacked the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021. In the aftermath, the Far Right sought to invoke the Antifa Fantasy again, claiming the attack on the Capitol was done by Antifa. However, there have been no legitimate reports lending credibility to these claims (see attached Reuters article).

Instead, the Capitol attack was planned and executed by Far-Right groups like the Oath Keepers, an antigovernment militia group whose founder lives in Montana (see attached CNN article). Over the last year, law enforcement and government entities have realized the threats posed by the Far Right. Montana

(find us on facebook



consistently ranks first, or near the top, for having the most hate groups per capita in the country (see attached 24/7 Wall Street article). These are the types of groups that law enforcement has serious concerns about when it comes to threatening community safety. The most recent report by the Southern Poverty Law Center for Montana includes a chapter of the Proud Boys, which has a formal structure and leadership and is known for violent criminal activity. Another think tank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, found that white nationalist groups were responsible for 67% of the "terrorist plots and attacks" in the first eight months of 2020.

The threat to Montana and our country is clear. It comes from right-wing extremism, not unsubstantiated rumors of widespread violence by Antifa. The best option this committee has is killing HJ 11. If you choose to pass it, we recommend you remove Antifa and replace it with groups like the Oath Keepers, Proud Boys, and other such real threats to our communities. In closing, please vote NO on HJ 11.

Travis McAdam

Program Director:

Combating White Nationalism & Defending Democracy

Montana Human Rights Network

(406) 442-5506 ext. 11

travis@mhrn.org









KEEPING SAFE AS MILITIAS SPREAD "ANTIFA FANTASY" IN MONTANA

June 4, 2020

Local Officials Should Denounce Rumors, Reject Armed **Activists**

Anti-racist activists and concerned communities around the state are protesting in response to the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis. At the same time, Far Right paramilitaries are spreading rumors to encourage violence against people of color and their supporters. MHRN is sharing the facts behind these rumors and offering two actions that community members can take to help prevent the violence that these activists of the Far Right crave.

Debunking Rumors in Montana

Late Monday, former state Senator Jennifer Fielder set off a firestorm of misinformation regarding antiracist events in Montana. She posted a note on Facebook warning that "multiple reports from

credible
witnesses" said
a caravan of
Antifa members
was planning to
infiltrate antiracist protests
planned in
Coeur d'Alene,
Idaho, before
heading to
Missoula. Since
this post went



The Bozeman Daily Chronicle featured this photo of the antiracist protest held in Bozeman on May 31, 2020.

live, variations on Fielder's claims have been shared far and wide in militia and other anti-government Facebook groups. Members of these groups have responded by fantasizing about the chance to shoot Antifa demonstrators.

There were several problems with Fielder's claim and the agitation it created, but the most important one was this: There was no caravan. MHRN thoroughly researched the situation and was unable to find any solid proof of a caravan, and neither could several law-enforcement sources MHRN contacted. Instead, the claims made by Fielder followed an "Antifa Fantasy" template that is sweeping the country. Both the Associated Press and the Idaho Statesman have published articles debunking the claim. Additionally, the Kalispell Police Department issued a statement yesterday that says it has no information of "any outside groups" planning events in their area. A Montana Public Radio piece quoted the Missoula Police Department making similar statements.

MHRN is issuing this information because facts matter. MHRN is also concerned that this Antifa

Fantasy is being exploited by armed militia groups to divide our communities and intimidate peaceful protesters.

The Reason for the "Antifa Fantasy"

MHRN believes the real goal of this Antifa Fantasy is to mobilize armed right-wing activists to show up and interfere with peaceful protests in our communities. By making it sound like protesters could be out-of-state Antifa members, it's easier for armed militia activists to try to justify violence towards people of color and concerned community members at anti-racist events. After spending much time researching these rumors in many antigovernment Facebook groups, MHRN's Travis McAdam stated:

> "I can tell you these militia folks have very itchy trigger fingers and are excited by the possibility of 'protecting and saving' their communities. When Antifa hasn't shown up, the armed militias are taking credit for scaring them away, even though the caravan never existed."

The rumors have already helped turn out armed activists at anti-racist protests in the state. MHRN is receiving consistent reports from community activists that versions of the Antifa Fantasy are spreading fast in communities. Some reports also claim armed militia members are planning to show up at future anti-racist protests, while some militia

activists are offering to protect local businesses from the supposed Antifa protesters.

"The armed activists showing up at anti-racist protests want to intimidate people at these peaceful events," said McAdam. "They want confrontation. They want protests to turn violent, so afterwards they can blame racial justice supporters for the situation."

What You Can Do In Your Community

MHRN recommends that community members call on their local governments to publicly denounce the rumors and make a statement rejecting the presence of armed paramilitaries at peaceful antiracist protests held in their communities. Find a list of local government leaders here: https://mtleague.org/basic.

At the protests themselves, MHRN encourages attendees to stay safe. This means refusing to feed the conflict that counter protesters and armed militia members want to play out for the media covering the events. Any interaction could escalate into a dangerous situation for protest participants and especially people of color. MHRN encourages protest attendees to have a safety plan that includes:

- Keeping your values, the purpose of the event, and the care and safety of people of color at the forefront of your actions.
- Thinking about an exit plan.
- Attending with a friend.
- Keeping your temper under control. You can even practice this at home with a friend beforehand so that you don't put yourself, and especially people of color, at risk.

- Following the guidance of event organizers on safe locations to protest that are out of the way of traffic.
- Listening to those tasked with de-escalating situations.
- Staying out of dark spaces or having a light with you.
- Communicating suspicious activity to organizers and friends. Please report that type of activity to MHRN afterwards using our online form.

There are many compassionate, thoughtful people who are organizing these events to bring community members together. However, it's important to be aware of unsubstantiated rumors, the entities that are promoting the rumors, and strategies to have safe, peaceful events that support anti-racism and people of color.

MHRN wants people to know militias are showing an increased interest in local anti-racist protests, and some of them are indicating that they may attend. Adding armed people with vastly different intentions and goals into these emotionally charged spaces is concerning. That said, MHRN hasn't seen any specific plans detailing armed attacks on anti-racist protesters. If MHRN comes across such information, it will immediately be shared with local organizers and authorities.

YOU MIGHT ALSO LIKE THESE

2020 PROTESTS

How The Antifa Fantasy Spread In Small Towns Across The US

Rumors of roving bands of Antifa have followed small protests all over the United States. Why are people so ready to believe them?

Anne Helen PetersenBuzzFeed News Reporter Posted on June 9, 2020, at 4:55 p.m. ET



BuzzFeed News; Getty Images

The rumor that shadowy leftists planned to start trouble in Great Falls, Montana, first appeared on the <u>Facebook group</u> of the Montana Liberty Coalition late last Wednesday afternoon.

"Heads up," a man named Wayne Ebersole, who owns a local cover crop business, wrote. "Rumor has it that Antifa has scheduled a protest in Great Falls Friday evening at 5 p.m. in front of the Civic Center." He asked the group if anyone had any more information, or if anyone was available to "protect businesses."

"It has been confirmed through the police department," one commenter replied. "They have a permit for tomorrow night and are in town now."

They weren't. Police later said they had been "working to quell the rumor." But that didn't stop it from sweeping across various right-wing groups. Within 24 hours, a screenshot of Ebersole's post had been posted to the Facebook Group for the Montana Militia, whose members have recently dedicated themselves to tracking the perceived threat of <u>antifa</u> all over the state, including coordinating armed responses to "protect" their towns. (Ebersole did not respond to a request for comment.)

And by Friday at 5 p.m., as about 500 protesters gathered to protest systemic racism and police brutality, a handful of armed men had massed at the edge of the demonstration. "We heard that a little group called Antifa wanted to show up and not in our town," one man, who declined to be named, told the Great Falls Tribune. "All it takes is a word and a whisper."

As protests against police brutality and in support of Black Lives Matter continue to proliferate across the small towns and rural communities, so, too, have rumors of white vans of masked antifa driving from town to town, reportedly intent on destruction. In Hood River, Oregon, antifa were, according to screenshot of a fake Instagram story, calling on followers to "root loot do anything in your power." In Spring Hill, Tennessee, there was a "busload" staying at the Holiday Inn, prepping to loot Walgreens at noon. In Wenatchee, Washington, bands of men dressed in black were surveilling potential targets. In Payette, Idaho, a plane full of protesters was circling overhead. In Honolulu, antifa had been flown in from the mainland. In Billings, Montana, some claimed agitators had been spotted by the National Guard. In Nebraska, they were creating Craigslist ads offering to pay people \$25 a day to "cause as much chaos and destruction as possible." In Sisters, Oregon, they were planning to show up at the local Bi-Mart.

To be clear: All of these rumors were false. They were all, as the Deschutes County Sheriff's Office put it, "fourth-hand information." To combat them, police departments in dozens of towns are holding press conferences, posting announcements on social media, and telling anyone who calls the station that there has been no indication of a planned

presence from antifa or any other outside agitators, whether "from Chicago" (code, in many parts of the Midwest, for black people) or "from Seattle" (code for liberals).

Yet these rumors continue to spread. That spread is facilitated by Facebook — where they thrive in groups whose previous focus was protesting pandemic-related shutdowns and circulating conspiracy theories about COVID-19 — and fanned by President Donald Trump, who recently declared his intention to label antifa a terrorist group. This morning, the president raised the antifa menace yet again, tweeting that the protester violently shoved by police in Buffalo, New York, "could be an ANTIFA." (He was not.)

But the persistence of these rumors suggests a deeper fear of outside incursion, and the necessity of an ever-alert, armed response. As encapsulated in a Reddit thread out of Hood River, Oregon: "I'll say this much: The people out here are armed to the teeth. If you want to bring mayhem to this area, the end result will likely have you *begging* for police protection."



Stephanie Keith / Getty Images
An antifa member passes a fountain during an alt-right rally on Aug. 17, 2019, in Portland, Oregon.

Antifa has become the right's face of violent leftist protest in the United States, sloppily aligned with, as the president put it on June 1, "professional anarchists, violent mobs,

arsonists, looters, criminals, rioters." In a tweet, Trump claimed the national guard had "shut down" the "ANTIFA led anarchists, among others." (The DC field office of the FBI reported no antifa involvement in protests, according to the Nation.)

It's difficult to talk about antifa with any sort of precision. It's "leftist" insomuch as it's against, well, fascism, authoritarianism, and white supremacists. There are some local groups, but there's no national leadership structure. Many antifa dedicate themselves to finding white supremacists in their communities and outing them. Most people within those groups are for violent protest only as a last resort, but a handful are for more forceful displays and destruction. Here in Montana, I encountered a very small handful in January 2017, when they showed up in Whitefish to counter a planned march by the Daily Stormer, a neo-Nazi website.

The most important thing to understand about antifa is that there are very, very few of them: <u>According</u> to the Washington Post, when the group tried to gather nationally, they topped out at a few hundred.

Nevertheless, Trump has been building up the menace of antifa for years. He first began evoking antifa following the Charlottesville "Unite the Right" rally, when he famously claimed that there were "very good people, on both sides." "Since then Trump has returned to the term often in speeches," Ben Zimmer writes in the Atlantic, always "with an air of alien menace."

Lifted by Trump's rhetoric, that "alien menace" has accumulated around antifa in the public imagination, making it all the easier to believe posts in which fake antifa accounts promise to act in the exact ways Trump has described. On Sunday, May 31, a newly made Twitter account — <u>since linked</u> to the white nationalist group Identity Evorpa — posted: "Tonight's the night, Comrades," with a brown raised-fist emoji and "Tonight we say 'F--- The City' and we move into the residential areas... the white hoods.... and we take what's ours ..."

The antifa threat has also been co-opted by QAnon, the nation's most powerful and influential conspiracy theory and movement. At Concordia University, Marc-André Argentino researches the way extremist groups use social media as a tool to recruit, spread propaganda, and incite acts of violence. Last week, he began tracking the uptick in mentions of antifa within QAnon social media forums, which began to rise when "Q" (the anonymous poster who guides the site) began mentioning it on May 30. At least for the moment, QAnon is celebrating the protests (and antifa's presence) for their potential to spark the apocalyptic "storm" central to the QAnon theology. "Antifa is a nebulous enemy, one that serves as a rallying cry for keyboard warriors and on-the-ground militiamen," Argentino told me.

Argentino has been noticing something else, too: a growing cross-pollination between QAnon, which is often referred to simply as a conspiracy group, and more far-right extremist groups, from the so-called <u>Boogaloo Bois</u> and <u>Proud Boys</u> to more straightforward militias.

This intermingling was on display at the <u>Reopen Michigan protests</u>, where American flags waved alongside Confederate ones. And you can see it now all over the West, where the groups that advocated for reopening — often attracting a motley mix of constitutionalists, "patriots," anti-vaxxers, Second Amendment advocates, anti-government advocates, and just straight up pissed off business people — have shifted their focus to "protection." In the Tri-Cities area of Central Washington, the shift is so explicit that the Facebook group "Reopen Tri-Cities" has shifted, wholescale, to a second group called "Protect the Tri."



Aurora Simpson Photography
Armed men gather on Main Street in the historic downtown of Klamath Falls, Oregon, on May 31.

In Montana, most of the rumors of antifa presence in the state can be traced back to state Sen. Jennifer Fielder, who warned her followers on June 1 of "multiple reports from credible witnesses" that five white panel vans of antifa were on their way to Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, and would then proceed to Missoula, Montana. Fielder, who lives in

Northwest Montana, is known across the state for ultra-right, "liberty-minded" views on everything from public lands (they should be sold) to contact tracing (a form of governmental overreach).

But Fielder didn't start the antifa rumor. She just brought it to Montana. On Sunday, June 1, over in <u>Klamath Falls</u>, Oregon, the rumors were so compelling that hundreds of armed people showed up to line the Main Street during a planned protest. The next night, in downtown Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, a man with an AR-12, an AR-15, two 9 mm handguns, and a .38 special <u>told reporter Bill Buley</u> that he was there, along with hundreds of others, because he'd heard "there were some people who shouldn't be here."

In some cases, the people with guns showing up at these rallies are "supportive" of the groups protesting — at least in so far as they're supportive of the right to freely assemble. They don't actually believe the protesters, in many cases local high school students, would turn to violence. Instead, they believe antifa is plotting to infiltrate the otherwise peaceful protests and turn them violent — or, as was suspected in Lewiston, Idaho, use the protest as a decoy in order to ransack the business district.

Which is why, as over a thousand people gathered to march along the Snake River in Lewiston, dozens of others, many heavily armed, lined the streets downtown. One wore a Hawaiian shirt (the "uniform" of the <u>Boogaloo Bois</u>) and held a sign with the name of a III% militia member who had been shot by the police. Another wore a vest covered in Nazi paraphernalia. Others were decked out in flak jackets, in camo, and Clinton Conspiracy shirts. Similar scenes have played out this week in Bozeman, Kalispell, Billings, Sandpoint, and Coeur d'Alene.

Travis McAdam, who's tracked anti-government and hate groups for 15 years with the Montana Human Rights Network, calls it the "Antifa Fantasy." A version of this fantasy has long existed, in some form, in militia circles: "An outside, shadowy entity is going to come in," McAdam recounted, "and whether it's to disarm the community or attack it, these folks are going to mobilize and fight it off. Antifa is just the bogeyman that they've stuck in this narrative."

Put differently: Militia members get to plan, anticipate, and enact the idea at the foundation of their existence. And they get to do it in a way that positions them as "the good guys," fighting a cowardly bogeyman easily vanquished by show of force alone. As a popular meme circulating in North Idaho put it, "Remember that time when Antifa said they were coming to Coeur d'Alene / And everyone grabbed their guns and they didn't come? That was awesome!" It doesn't matter if antifa was never coming in the first place. They didn't come, and that's evidence of victory.

And that victory can then be leveraged into further action — and a means to extend the fantasy. On the Montana Militia page, a man named Tom Allen, whose home is listed on

Facebook as Wibaux, Montana, posted that he'd spent the night in Dickenson, North Dakota, "protecting" the veterans monument during a planned protest. A group of bikers showed up to guard the nearby mall, protecting "all of Antifa's usual targets." There was no incident. (Allen did not respond to request for comment.)

Afterward, Allen wrote, a man who had helped coordinate the defense followed a group of perceived antifa to an Applebee's, where he said he overheard them talking about "the waitress and how they wanted to rape her," "killing cops" and "other violence," and their future plans: "They're saying there's going to be a 'firestorm' in Billings this weekend." The post was shared more than 1,800 times.

Like Argentino, the online researcher, McAdam sees this current "protect" movement as an extension and consolidation of anti-government movements that have been percolating for years. Back in 2008, when tea party rallies began sprouting up all over the United States, many of them were attended and organized by people authentically upset about economic policies. But those protests, like the reopen protests, also drew in anti-government agitators and militia members, who then began to influence and, in some cases, take over the leadership in the tea party groups.

"That dynamic is very similar to what's happening now," McAdam said. "A core group of people coming from the anti-government movement are always looking for a crisis, where you have a divisive issue in the community that they can tap into and exploit. The COVID pandemic was one thing, and now we've got another avenue." And people who might not ever consider themselves "militia" or even anti-government, who might have joined a reopen group in frustration, are now exposed, and perhaps more receptive, to rumors of roaming antifa in need of rebuke.



Aurora Simpson Photography
Armed men and women show up in Klamath Falls, Oregon, after rumors of an outside antifa presence at a Black Lives Matter protest.

"You can really see that in the Facebook groups," dozens of which McAdam monitors. "I would see people posting early on a Tuesday morning, saying, 'I don't know if this Antifa rumor is real,' and then later in the day, they'd be like, 'Well, I dunno if I believe this, but I'm going to go drive around Missoula and look for these Antifa vans."

When someone in your Facebook feed posts a warning to be on the lookout for antifa in your small town, it might seem like low-stakes nonsense. But beneath such a seemingly silly rumor lurks a larger ideological iceberg: the idea that radical leftists are out to defile and destroy, and the only recourse against them is an armed, unrestricted militia. QAnon theory builds on this, suggesting that all of it — the protests, the police reaction, the presence of antifa — has been preordained as part of a coming mass destruction

And QAnon isn't just a niche conspiracy theory. Tweets from its proponents are regularly retweeted by the president. At <u>least 50</u> current or former candidates for Congress, plus the <u>Republican nominee</u> for the US Senate in Oregon, are public QAnon supporters. And that doesn't even include candidates running on the state or local level.

As Adrienne LaFrance <u>argued</u> in the Atlantic, QAnon has become a religion, with clearly defined sides of good and evil, hungry for converts. The antifa fantasy functions similarly. Whether you're in Lewiston, Idaho, or Klamath Falls, Oregon, it's so, so easy to believe.

And as QAnon continues to cross-pollinate ideas with violent, extremist groups, "keyboard warriors" may bring their conspiracies into the real world. As Argentino put it, "If you're in QAnon, and you see your messianic leader, Trump, at risk of losing the election, and the mass arrests that Q has promised is not coming, at some point people are going to question: If the Q team and Q can't do this themselves, maybe they need the digital patriots to become offline patriots."



Logan Cyrus / Getty Images
A member of the far-right militia Boogaloo Bois walks next to protesters demonstrating outside
Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department Metro Division 2 just outside of downtown Charlotte,
North Carolina, on May 29.

On June 2, Trump sent out a blast to his email list. The subject line: ANTIFA. "Dangerous MOBS of far-left groups are running through our streets and causing absolute mayhem," the email said. "They are DESTROYING our cities and rioting — it's absolute madness."

That night, in Forks, Washington, a multiracial family from across the state in Spokane pulled up to a local outdoors store. They were in a decommissioned school bus and picking up supplies on their way to go camping. In the parking lot, a group of people from seven to eight cars surrounded them and accused them of being antifa. According to a <u>statement</u> from the sheriff's office, the family then drove off to their camping site, trailed by a handful of cars. In two of the cars, people were holding semi-automatic weapons. As the family was setting up camp, they heard the sound of chainsaws and gunshots in the distance. When they attempted to leave, they found that trees had been felled onto the road, trapping them on site.

"For lots of folks, it's much easier to accept the idea that the only people who could be protesting the local police would be from outside the area," McAdam explained. "It couldn't possibly be that people of color in our community could have bad experiences with local law enforcement." Or, for that matter, with locals in general.

"The 'outsiders' part of this narrative is just so important," McAdam said. "It allows people to say, and to believe: 'We don't have problems in our community.""



Anne Helen Petersen is a senior culture writer for BuzzFeed News and is based in Missoula, Montana.

Contact Anne Helen Petersen at anne.helen.petersen@buzzfeed.com.

The New Hork Times

Delayed Homeland Security Report Warns of 'Lethal' White Supremacy

An annual assessment that a whistle-blower said was withheld for months did not hold back on the threat from violent extremists and tagged Russia as the primary source of disinformation.



By Zolan Kanno-Youngs

Oct. 6, 2020

WASHINGTON — The Department of Homeland Security warned on Tuesday that violent white supremacy was the "most persistent and lethal threat in the homeland" in an annual assessment that a former intelligence chief had accused the agency of withholding in deference to President Trump.

The intelligence chief-turned-whistle-blower last month accused the department of blocking the report and directing analysts to play down the threat of violent white racism as well as Russian election interference to align the agency's message with the president's. But the final report appeared to do no such thing.

The threat assessment highlighted white supremacists as the most deadly among domestic terrorists in recent years and Russia as the primary threat to spreading disinformation.

"I am particularly concerned about white supremacist violent extremists who have been exceptionally lethal in their abhorrent, targeted attacks in recent years," Chad F. Wolf, the acting secretary of homeland security, wrote in the foreward to the assessment. The threat report also stated that "Russia is the likely primary covert influence actor and purveyor of disinformation and misinformation within the homeland."

The agency also highlighted Iran and China's cyberwarfare abilities and warned of a potential surge in migration to the southwest border.

The delayed release of the report has been a point of scrutiny for a department that has faced consistent accusations of morphing into a tool for Mr. Trump's re-election campaign. After the department singled out domestic terrorists and specifically white supremacists in a terrorism framework in September 2019, the agency's leadership committed to releasing a follow-up assessment to the threat as well as a blueprint to confront it within months. It took far longer.

Brian Murphy, who was demoted from his post as the Homeland Security Department's intelligence chief in August, said last month in a whistle-blower complaint that Mr. Wolf and his deputy, Kenneth T. Cuccinelli, blocked the release of the assessment because of how it would "reflect upon President Trump."

The Homeland Security blueprint did finally emerge, shortly after Mr. Murphy's complaint. It included \$10 million for nonprofits and other organizations to prevent extremist violence.

The administration's treatment of white supremacy re-emerged as an issue last week, when Mr. Trump failed to condemn white racist violence during the presidential debate, even after Christopher A. Wray, the F.B.I. director, affirmed to Congress the lethal threat of the racist extremists.

Now, the Homeland Security Department has done so in the assessment.

"This threat assessment confirms two things: that white supremacist extremists are the top domestic threat to the homeland, and they are often inspired by President Trump's rhetoric," said Representative Bennie Thompson, Democrat of Mississippi and the chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee.

The threat assessment for the most part mirrored drafts that were leaked to the public, refuting concerns that the department would dilute any warnings. The department did add a section absent from previous versions of the report, titled "exploitation of lawful and protected speech and protests."

The section echoed Mr. Trump's description of city governments led by Democrats as fostering chaos.

"We have seen over 100 days of violence and destruction in our cities," according to the report. "The co-opting of lawful protests led to destruction of government property and have turned deadly."

While a majority of the protests against police violence and racism this summer were peaceful, some did include individuals who committed violent acts, including in Portland, Ore., where the Homeland Security Department sent teams of tactical agents. The aggressive methods of those agents, including forcing demonstrators into unmarked cars and using tear gas, is under investigation by the inspectors general for the Homeland Security and Justice Departments.



Members of the Proud Boys and other extremist groups at a rally in Portland, Ore., last month. Maranie R. Staab/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

Some demonstrators also lobbed commercial-grade fireworks at a federal courthouse and the agents surrounding it. A self-proclaimed supporter of the loose-knit movement known as antifa was also accused of fatally shooting a right-wing activist who was part of a pro-Trump caravan in Portland. That antifa supporter, Michael Forest Reinoehl, was shot and killed last month by law enforcement agents before he could be taken into custody.

While the threat assessment does not specifically mention antifa, it does warn of anti-government groups that could commit violence under the guise of protests. Last May, a suspected member of the boogaloo, a generally right-wing movement that seeks to bring about a second civil war, shot and killed a member of the Federal Protective Service during protests in Oakland, Calif. Mr. Trump blamed "the left" for the killing.

The report also warns that extremist groups could be inspired to attack because of restrictions to limit the spread of the coronavirus.

"We also remain particularly concerned about the impacts from Covid-19, where anti-government and anti-authority violent extremists could be motivated to conduct attacks in response to perceived infringement of liberties and government overreach," the report said.

It also indicated that the department was preparing for an increase in migration to the southwestern border. Homeland security analysts warned that the easing of coronavirus restrictions could lead to an increase in border crossings by land and sea.

The department has cited the pandemic in using a public health emergency to seal the border to migrants, rapidly returning most to Mexico or other countries without offering to review their asylum claims.

In an interview with CBS published on Monday, Mr. Wolf defended the assessment, noting that the Russia threat was mentioned multiple times. But he also asserted that "the most long-term strategic threat to Americans, to the homeland and really to our way of life would be the threat from China," a position that mirrors Mr. Trump's. Mr. Wolf has faced criticism for refusing to single out the threat from Russia but rather placing it on the same level as Iran and China.

In the report, analysts described China as exploiting shortages of critical supplies, committing intellectual property theft and waging disinformation campaigns on the internet. As for election interference, China and Iran have for the most part targeted Mr. Trump, but intelligence officers have said that Russia presented a more severe short-term threat.

Javed Ali, a former senior director at the National Security Council under Mr. Trump, said the homeland threat assessment was reassuring "given the significant politicization that has occurred" in the Homeland Security Department.

"It was good to see the H.T.A. take a more objective, nonpartisan and analytically driven perspective on cataloging the major homeland threats," Mr. Ali said, referring to the assessment.

The New York Times

U.S. Will Examine Giving F.B.I. More Resources to Counter Domestic Extremism

The issue of violent extremist groups in the United States has come to the top of the agenda since a mob of far-right groups stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6.





By Julian E. Barnes and Zolan Kanno-Youngs

Feb. 5, 2021

WASHINGTON — The Biden administration will examine if additional F.B.I. agents are needed at the bureau's field offices to address the threat of domestic violent extremism, a senior administration official said on Friday.

Last month, the White House ordered a review of the threat of domestic violent extremism, led by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. That assessment will inform a policy review that will consider F.B.I. resources, additional authorities, foreign influence operations and other questions.

The senior administration official said that the assessment and initial policy review would take about 100 days. The official spoke on a conference call with reporters on ground rules of anonymity to broach current policy discussions.

The issue of violent extremist groups in the United States has come to the top of the agenda since a mob of far-right extremist organizations stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6. The assault, which aimed to stop the counting of Electoral College votes and halt the transition of power to the Biden administration, has led to a string of federal charges against the rioters.

Since the attack, there have been a series of questions about the intelligence gathered before Jan. 6, and whether the federal government was taking the threat of violence and extremist groups seriously enough.

There is broad interest across the government in the issue of violent domestic groups. On Thursday, both Democrats and Republicans on the House Homeland Security Committee expressed support for new domestic terrorism laws intended to stop violence similar to the attack on the Capitol. And Senator Mark Warner, Democrat of Virgina, who is the new chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said this week that he had bipartisan support for his panel to investigate the matter.

In a letter last month to President Biden, Senator John Cornyn, Republican of Texas and a member of the intelligence committee, backed the administration's assessment request and asked that the role of foreign adversaries be examined.

"It is crucial we understand the full extent of the threat facing our nation to ensure the tragic events of Jan. 6, 2021, never happen again," Mr. Cornyn wrote.

The administration official said the bulk of the intelligence review would fall to the intelligence arms of the F.B.I. and Department of Homeland Security, but it is the role of the director of national intelligence to coordinate assessments that involve multiple departments.

However, an element of the review will look at potential links between domestic groups and foreign networks and organizations, the official added. That part of the review will involve intelligence agencies, including the C.I.A. and National Security Agency, which are restricted in their collection of intelligence on Americans.

White House officials expect that as part of the policy review, the F.B.I. will seek additional resources to deal with domestic violent extremism. The official noted that a Department of Homeland Security examination found that white supremacist terrorism was the most lethal domestic threat from 2018 to 2020.

While some F.B.I. field offices have a squad of agents who deal primarily with the threat of domestic extremist groups, not all of them have a full contingent of resources dedicated to the fight. However, former F.B.I. officials say the domestic terrorism threat can vary from state to state.

But the official said another part of the review would look at whether the bureau's Joint Terrorism Task Forces were structured to address the threat of American extremist groups and antigovernmental organizations. The review will look at whether the task forces are capable of reporting episodes of domestic violent extremism and track the groups that are involved, the official said.

International terrorist groups, like Al Qaeda, are far more hierarchical. In contrast, the official said, domestic extremist groups are more loosely organized. Membership can shift, and different groups can come together, as they did during the Capitol attack, and then split apart.

Adam Goldman contributed reporting.

Julian E. Barnes is a national security reporter based in Washington, covering the intelligence agencies. Before joining The Times in 2018, he wrote about security matters for The Wall Street Journal. @julianbarnes • Facebook

Zolan Kanno-Youngs is the homeland security correspondent, based in Washington. He covers the Department of Homeland Security, immigration, border issues, transnational crime and the federal government's response to national emergencies and security threats. @KannoYoungs

A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 14 of the New York edition with the headline: F.B.I. Ability To Counter Extremists Scrutinized



EVERYTHINGNEWS

JANUARY 9, 2021 / 2:45 PM / UPDATED A MONTH AGO

Fact check: Men who stormed Capitol identified by Reuters are not undercover Antifa as posts claim

By Reuters Staff



Social media users have been sharing content online that suggests those who stormed the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6 were Antifa, not Trump supporters. Many have been using compilations of pictures as purported evidence, but examination of these images shows they do not support this claim. Meanwhile, the FBI has said there is "no indication at this time" that Antifa had played a role in the mob that stormed the Capitol.

Kosovo opposition party set to win parliamentary vote: exit...

With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp...

Russi, suppc

3 HOURS AGO

3 HOURS AGO

4 HOL

An explosion caused by a police munition is seen while supporters of President Trump gather at the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, January 6. REUTERS/Leah Millis

While it is impossible for Reuters to verify the identity of each person who took part in Wednesday's siege, this article covers some of the key images presented in social media posts as false evidence of the rioters being "Antifa undercover".

Examples of posts presenting various different men as evidence can be seen $\underline{\underline{\text{here}}}$, $\underline{\underline{\text{here}}}$

instagram-image-CJw0BUilBtU

Hundreds of President Donald Trump's supporters stormed the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday in a stunning bid to overturn his election defeat, battling police in the hallways and delaying the certification of Democratic President-elect Joe Biden's victory for hours (here).

The chaos unfolded after Trump - who before the election refused to commit to a peaceful transfer of power if he lost - addressed thousands of supporters near the White House and told them to march on

Kosovo opposition party set to win parliamentary vote: exit...

With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp...

Russia suppo

3 HOURS AGO

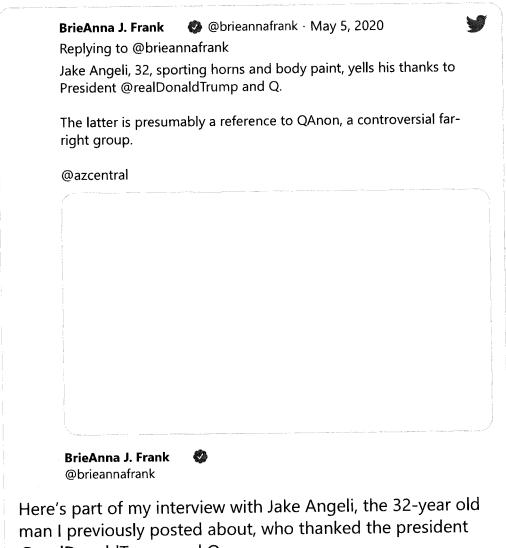
3 HOURS AGO

4 HOL

MAN WITH FUR, HORNS AND PAINTED FACE

Reuters Fact Check previously debunked the claims that a man wearing fur and a hat with horns was a Black Lives Matter or ANTIFA supporter here.

Media outlets including AZ Central and Mashable quickly identified the man as Jake Angeli (here, here). According to AZ Central, he has been a "fixture at Arizona right-wing political rallies over the past year." In an interview with the news outlet in May 2020 visible here, Angeli spoke in favor of President Donald Trump and his policies.



@realDonaldTrump and Q.

Kosovo opposition party set to win parliamentary vote: exit	With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp	Russi
3 HOURS AGO	3 HOURS AGO	4 HOU
		No. of the Control of
- Comment		William Committee was
		hammadana
		- Andrew State Control of the Contro
1		V
12:19 PM · May 5, 202	0	<u> </u>
	The state of the s	AZZZ - V-P
♡ 6.2K	© Copy link to Tweet	

In another video visible here , Angeli can be seen praising Trump and "Q," a reference to the anonymous leader of QAnon, an intertwined series of conspiracy theories whose followers believe that President Trump is secretly fighting a cabal of child-sex predators that includes prominent Democrats, Hollywood elites and "deep state" allies.

ADVERTISEMENT

Kosovo opposition p		With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp
3 HOURS AGO		3 HOURS AGO
	Journalists are be facism. We're ask @azcentral	eing accused of leading the country into socialism and ked why we're not looking into Iraq/Venezuela.
	BrieAnna J. Fran @brieannafrank	k 🔮
ļ	Jake Angeli, 32, spo thanks to Presiden	orting horns and body paint, yells his t @realDonaldTrump and Q.
	The latter is presur far-right group.	mably a reference to QAnon, a controversial
	@azcentral	
	and the second second	

11:26 AM · May 5, 2020

Russi suppo 4 HOI

Kosovo opposition party set to win parliamentary vote: exit...

With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp...

Russi:

3 HOURS AGO

3 HOURS AGO

4 HOI

He has since been charged with knowingly entering or remaining in any restricted building or grounds without lawful authority, and with violent entry and disorderly conduct on Capitol grounds (here. The Justice Department identified him as Jacob Anthony Chansley (also known as Jake Angeli).

MAN WITH HAND TATTOO

Reuters Fact Check has previously debunked the claim of a man's tattoo being proof that he is a part of ANTIFA here .

Posts place an image of protesters inside the Capitol building alongside another image sourced to "phillyantifa.org".

The Philly Antifa website (phillyantifa.org) does have a page featuring an image of a bearded man who shares certain characteristics with the person seen in the Capitol building. However, this page does not describe the man as an Antifa supporter. Instead, it says the image shows an individual belonging to an entirely different group that Philly Antifa opposes.

Reuters has not identified the person pictured in the Capitol Building. However, a comparison of tattoos on the right hands of both people would indicate that they are not the same person (compare this image from the Antifa site here with this AFP image here).

The tattoo seen on the other hand of the man in the Capitol appears to be a symbol from a computer game (here) and not a hammer and sickle symbol as some posts have suggested (here).

ADVERTISEMENT

Kosovo opposition party set to win parliamentary vote: exit...

With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp...

Russia suppo

3 HOURS AGO

3 HOURS AGO

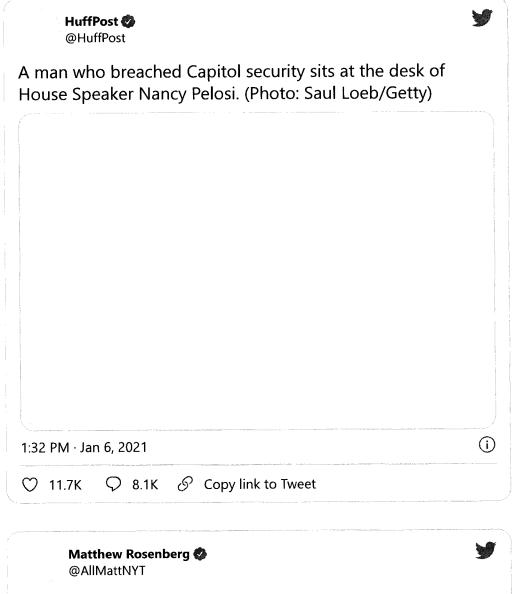
4 HOL



Host Town Initiative for Tokyo 2020. Discover the true Games spirit of peace and friendship.

Find Out More >

As the image from Getty began circulating widely on January 6 (here, here, here), New York Times reporter Matthew Rosenberg identified him in a tweet as 60-year-old Richard "Bigo" Barnett of Gravette, Arkansas (here). He also included a video of Barnett (here).



	osition party set to win rry vote: exit	With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp	Russi
3 HOURS AG	GO	3 HOURS AGO	4 HOU
			A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH
	4:18 PM · Jan 6, 2021		<u>(i)</u>
	♡ 37.5K ♀ 30.6H	⟨ S Copy link to Tweet	
	Replying to @A He claimed that when he was put one would buy all the way to the Matthew Rosent @AllMattNYT	t he was politely knocking on the door of Pelosi's oushed in by other protesters. It was a story he knewner!" - "I'll probably be telling them this is what happer the D.C. jail," he said.	w no ned

NOW READING Fact check: Men who stormed Capitol identified by Reuters are not undercover Antifa as posts claim Kosovo opposition party set to win parliamentary vote: exit... With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp... Suppc 3 HOURS AGO 3 HOURS AGO 4 HOL 4:32 PM ⋅ Jan 6, 2021 8.1K ♀ 6.2K ❤ Copy link to Tweet

Less than half an hour later, Northwest Arkansas NBC affiliate KNWA-TV reported (here that its team "immediately recognized the man" from an interview they conducted with Barnett at a "Stop the Steal" rally hosted by the Benton County Republicans in November.

NBC News reported that Barnett was arrested on Friday, January 8 (here). There is no evidence that he has any connection with Antifa.

FUR PELTS AND POLICE SHIELD

Another man shared in Facebook posts is wearing fur pelts and carrying a police shield, identifies himself as Aaron, a resident of Brooklyn, New York. In a YouTube video filmed inside the Capitol, (here) the man says he came to "express (his) belief that the election was stolen."



Kosovo opposition party set to win parliamentary vote: exit...

With Trump impeachment trial over, wounded Washington grapp...

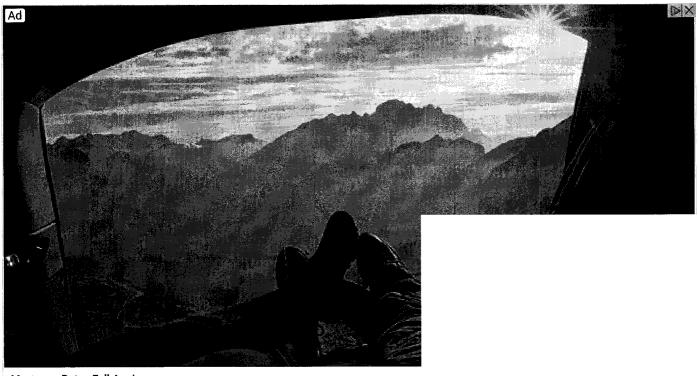
Russi suppo

3 HOURS AGO

3 HOURS AGO

4 HOL

ADVERTISEMENT



Mortgage Rates Fall Again

Recalculate Your House Payment In A Few Steps



Quicken Loans

Russia With Trump impeachment trial over, Kosovo opposition party set to win wounded Washington grapp... suppo parliamentary vote: exit... 4 HOL 3 HOURS AGO 3 HOURS AGO

There is no evidence linking this man to Antifa, and his personal Facebook page, which now appears to have been removed, showed he had reposted content from Donald Trump, Jr. and Senator Ted Cruz, as well as conservative commentators Laura Ingraham and Ben Shapiro.

When asked whether Aaron could be part of Antifa undercover, a source close to the Mostofsky family told Reuters via email: "It's not true. What he was recorded saying reflects his politics."

'NO INDICATION' OF ANTIFA INVOLVEMENT

There is no credible evidence to support the notion that Antifa backers dressed up as Trump supporters or that they led or spear-headed the rioting.

"We have no indication of that at this time," said Steven D'Antuono, the FBI Washington Field Office's assistant director in charge, in response to a question over whether there was any evidence to support allegations that perpetrators of the violence at the U.S. Capitol were "antifa infiltrators" who had disguised themselves as Trump supporters.

Examining the most upvoted chat rooms in an online blog forum popular among Trump supporters on the afternoon of January 8, Reuters found a mixture of narratives being presented among this community. Some said "Patriots", not Antifa, stormed the buildings while others blamed alleged Antifa infiltrators.

Reuters has debunked other Antifa-related misinformation since Wednesday, including that Antifa did not receive police escort from D.C. Police to the demonstrations (here), an Antifa confession prank (here) and digitally altered news reports (here).

Correction Jan 10. 2020: an earlier version of this article referred to "Nancy Pelosi's desk". This phrase has been changed to "a desk in Nancy Pelosi's office".

VERDICT

Members of extremist Oath Keepers group planned attack on US Capitol, prosecutors say

By <u>David Shortell, Katelyn Polantz, Evan Perez</u> and <u>Zachary Cohen</u>, CNN Updated 8:28 PM ET, Tue January 19, 2021



(CNN)Prosecutors on Tuesday filed the first significant conspiracy charge in the US Capitol attack, alleging that three members of the <u>so-called Oath Keepers</u>, an extremist militant group, planned and coordinated ahead of the January 6 assault.

In an amended complaint unsealed Tuesday in federal court, an FBI agent divulged striking new details about the group's efforts. Jessica Watkins, the alleged founder of an Ohio militia, had instructions to make explosives out of bleach printed out at her home, according to the court document.

Chilling messages sent between the militants during the siege that are quoted in the complaint appear to indicate they were searching for lawmakers inside the building as they sought to stop Congress from certifying the presidential election.

While at the Capitol, one alleged member of the conspiracy, Thomas Edward Caldwell, allegedly received a Facebook message reading "All members are in the tunnels under capital seal them in. Turn on gas."

In subsequent messages, an unidentified person appeared to give Caldwell directions inside the labyrinthian government building:

"Tom all legislators are down in the Tunnels 3floors down" one says. "Go through back house chamber doors facing N left down hallway down steps," says another, according to court documents.

Watkins turned herself into local police in the state on Sunday along with Donovan Crowl, another member of the Ohio group accused in the conspiracy charges.

The pair, along with Caldwell, are accused of moving together "in an organized and practiced fashion" as they pushed through a crowd towards a door to the Capitol building, according to a charging document.

The three were part of a group of eight to 10 people all wearing paramilitary gear and Oath Keeper paraphernalia, signifying their affiliation with the self-styled militia that's driven by anti-government conspiracies, according to an FBI affidavit. (The Ohio militia founded by Watkins pays dues to the Oath Keepers, according to the affidavit.)

Individual charges against the three had been revealed in recent days but the new conspiracy charge grouping them together represents the most serious allegation of coordinated activity at the riot made by prosecutors investigating the events of the insurrection. Prosecutors have called Caldwell an apparent leader of the Oath Keepers, and had previously charged him alone with conspiracy. (Oath Keepers leader Steward Rhodes denied that to CNN.)

It's not clear who is representing Watkins and Donovan on the charges. Caldwell was arrested in Virginia earlier Tuesday and at an initial appearance in federal court in Harrisonburg, Virginia, Tuesday afternoon, a federal magistrate judge ordered that he remain in jail as he awaits trial.

"The conduct and statements of Mr. Caldwell and the others, it really is just pure lawlessness," Judge Joel Hoppe of the Western District of Virginia said.

Prosecutors said at the hearing that Caldwell could face more charges, potentially including federal riot and sedition charges. He currently faces charges of obstruction of a federal proceeding, destruction of federal property and two conspiracy counts that carry serious possible penalties.

Caldwell's defense lawyer argued that he should be released because he is at risk of contracting Covid-19 in detention, his charges are not that serious and that he is a retired Navy captain who served the country and was honorably discharged. Caldwell said in court he still receives retirement payments from the Navy.

"Seventy percent of Republicans believe that the election was fraudulent," his temporarily appointed defense lawyer said, adding that Caldwell's opposition to the government wasn't out of the ordinary for "blustering on Facebook."

According to a recording of walkie-talkie-like communications that the militant group members were allegedly having during the riot, Watkins said that she was part of a team of 30 to 40 people.

"We have a good group. We have about 30-40 of us. We are sticking together and sticking to the plan," Watkins said, according to the affidavit.

At another point in the recording, after Watkins reports to the group that unknown others were "throwing grenades" and "shooting people with paint balls," a man responds to her telling her to be safe and adding, "Get it, Jess. Do your F**king thing. This is what we f**king [unintelligible] up for. Everything we f**king trained for."

In an interview, Crowl's mother, Teresa Joann Rowe, said her son, who previously served in the US Marine Corps, has expressed increasingly hostile political views in recent years.

"It felt like he did a 180-degree turnaround, felt like the world owed him a living and had a big chip on his shoulder," she told CNN. "I don't know if it's because life didn't go the way he planned."

Asked why she thinks Crowl may have been joined to this extremist group, she said, "I would like to understand myself. I don't get it."

She said Crowl served in the Marine Corps for about six years starting in the late 1980's and in recent years has done "odd jobs, being paid under the table so that he doesn't have to pay taxes."

She said prior to the news surrounding the storming of the Capitol, she was unaware of Crowl's involvement in any political groups, though she had heard him express pro-Donald Trump political views. She also said she recalled Crowl stating that "they were going to overtake the government if they... tried to take Trump's presidency from him. So he did make that statement, but that was two or three years ago so I forgot all about it."

Oren Segal, vice president of the Anti-Defamation League's Center on Extremism, said he's concerned some of those arrested have US military backgrounds.

"Some right-wing extremist groups, particularly the anti-government Oath Keepers, have a long history of recruiting from current and former members of the military and law enforcement," Segal told CNN.

"Oath Keepers are part of the resurgent militia movement, which believes the federal government has been co-opted by a shadowy conspiracy that is trying to strip American citizens of their rights. Though the Oath Keepers will accept anyone as members, what differentiates them from other anti-government extremist groups is their explicit focus on recruiting current and former military, law enforcement and first responder personnel," he added.

This story has been updated with additional developments.

CNN's Curt Devine, Mallory Simon, Sara Sidner and Anna-Maja Rappard contributed to this report.

24/7 Wall St.

Full article can be accessed at: https://247wallst.com/special-report/2020/10/13/states-with-the-most-hate-groups-per-capita/?fbclid=lwAR3OUQcnfb9mn8n-hFBfmXaZy3vlWgscSkobEmiXU1RTjH2vD-MsfFb6agE

SPECIAL REPORT

States With the Most Hate Groups per Capita

Hristina Byrnes, Samuel Stebbins
October 13, 2020 8:11 am

During the first debate between President Donald Trump and Democratic challenger Joe Biden, Trump was criticized after telling the Proud Boys, a white nationalist group, to "stand back and stand by." Law enforcement officials have been warning that the resurfacing of groups that hold extremist ideologies has been on the rise.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), a civil rights advocacy group, a record 940 hate groups were active in the United States in 2019, up from the 784 groups listed five years prior.

Growing hate group activity in 2019 has coincided with an increase in hate crime and was driven in part by a surge of white nationalist groups. Such groups were linked to several racist attacks, according to the SPLC. The number of white nationalist groups, including such groups as Identity Evropa, Patriot Front, and the infamous Ku Klux Klan, identified by the SPLC rose for the second straight year, and represents a 55% increase since 2017. In 2018, the U.S. Census Bureau announced its projection that by the year 2044, white

Americans will not be the majority, news that stoked fear and resistance in the radical right.

To identify the states with most hate groups, 24/7 Wall St. reviewed the number of hate groups in each state, according to SPLC, adjusted for every 1 million state residents in 2019.

Across the country as a whole, there are 2.9 hate groups for every million people. In some states, the concentration of hate groups is far greater. These states tend to have a population with lower educational attainment rates and lower income than the national averages. Six of the 22 states with more than three hate groups per million residents have a median household income higher than the national.

The states with the most hate groups per capita are also overwhelmingly concentrated in the same region. More than half of the 22 states on this list are in the South.

Click here to see the states with the most hate groups per capita. Click here to read our detailed methodology.

1. Montana

- > Hate groups in 2019: 5.61 per million people (total: 6)
- > Hate groups in 2010: 13.12 per million people 2nd highest (total: 13)
- > Pct. pop. identifying as white: 88.0% 8th highest
- > Pct. pop. foreign born: 2.3% 3rd lowest
- > Median household income: \$57,153 11th lowest Though Montana has relatively few hate groups active in the state, due to its small population just over a million people the state tops the list of states with most hate groups per capita. Montana ranked second in 2010. Four of the six hate groups in the state in 2019 hold white supremacist ideology.

The state is among the least racially diverse in the U.S. Just 0.7% of residents identify as Black, the second lowest share in the U.S., tied

with Idaho, and 88.0% of state residents identify as white, a far higher share than the 72.0% of Americans who do.

Tuesday, February 16, 2021

HB 342 - Revise judicial election laws

Sponsor: Rep. Matt Regier (R)

PLEASE PRINT

		1	
Representing	Support	Oppose	Info
Stal Bar MT		X	
Montana Defense Trial langers		X	
,			
	Representing Stab Bar MT Montana Defonse Trial languas	Representing Stabba MT Montana Defense Trial langos	Representing Sta G Bar MT Montana Defense Trial languas I I I I I I I I I I I I I

Please leave prepared testimony with Secretary. Witness Statement forms are available if you care to submit written testimony.

Tuesday, February 16, 2021

HB 345 - Establish Prescription Drug Pay-for-Delay Transparency Act

Sponsor: Rep. Katie Sullivan (D)

PLEASE PRINT				
Name	Representing	Support	Oppose	Info
John Poran	BCBSMT	~		
Greg Dornington	Montana Medical Assoc.			
Katjana Stutzer	Mont PIR6	X		
Bria Episar	mac/ cism	X		
Gest Redin	Agri	Ò		
Greal Horse	Prince The spection	X		
SI & Scorles	MA /		X_{-}	
There seems			/ `	
James fingly	Facific YourceHalth a	X		
) (1)			

Please leave prepared testimony with Secretary. Witness Statement forms are available if you care to submit written testimony.

Tuesday, February 16, 2021

HB 354 - Revise laws regarding driving while intoxicated costs

Sponsor: Rep. Frank Smith (D)

PLEASE PRINT

	Support	Oppose	Info
	1		
//c			
Ro A	\(\int_{\int_{\infty}}\)		
1550			<u> </u>
	Call		
			<u> </u>
		·	
_\\ '			
			1
	RECIPIED IN A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PART	REGISTION TO THE RESTRICT OF THE PARTY OF TH	ACTORING TO THE PARTY OF THE PA

Please leave prepared testimony with Secretary. Witness Statement forms are available if you care to submit written testimony.

Tuesday, February 16, 2021

HJ 11 - Resolution designating ANTIFA as domestic terrorism in Montana Sponsor: Rep. Braxton Mitchell (R)

PLEASE PRINT

Name	Representing	Support	Oppose	Info
\				
		, / / / / / / / /		
) ^y		
		//		
		//-		
	3/32/35///			
/	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \			
	-V $-$			<u> </u>
			<u> </u>	
4.1				<u> </u>

Please leave prepared testimony with Secretary. Witness Statement forms are available if you care to submit written testimony.

	House Judio	ciary Zoom Testim	ony 02.16.2021		
Bill	Name	Location	Email	Position	Affiliation
HJ-11	Opponents	1			
HJ-11	Laurie Little Dog	Bozeman, Montana	laurielittledog@gmail.com	Opponent	The state of the s
HJ-11	Josh Butterfly	Great Falls, Montana	butterflyjosh4@gmail.com	Opponent	Opening Doors
HJ-11	Clemente Arciga	Missoula, Montana	clementearciga@aol.com	Opponent	
НВ-342	Opponents				
HB-342	Al Smith	Helena, Montana	monttla@mt.net	Opponent	MT Trial Lawyers Association
HB-342	Lauren Caldwell	Helena, Montana	lcaldwell@mfpe.org	Opponent	MT Federation of Public Employees
HB-342	Ed Bartlett	Missoula, Montana	efbarlett@charter.net	Opponent	MT Judges Ass. & State Bar of Mont.
HB-342	Judge Mike Salvagni	Bozeman, Montana	msalvagni@aol.com	Opponent	
HB-342	Judge Gregory Todd	Billings, Montana	gtodd@mt.gov	Opponent	Montana Judges Association
HB-342	Informational Witness		:	1	
HB-342	Jeff Mangan	Helena, Montana	jeff.mangan@mt.gov	Informational Witness	Commissioner of Political Practices
HB-342	Jaime MacNaughton	Helena, Montana	jmacnaughton@mt.gov	Informational Witness	Commissioner of Political Practices
HB-345	Proponents				
HB-345	Alanna Wulf	Billings, Montana	awulf@bigsky55.org	Proponent	Big Sky 55+
HB - 345	Stacey Anderson	Helena, Montana	sanderson@mtpca.org	Proponent	Montana Primary Care Association
HB-354	Informational Witness	1			
HB-354	Larry Flynn	Helena, Montana	lflynn@mt.gov	Informational Witness	MDT

•